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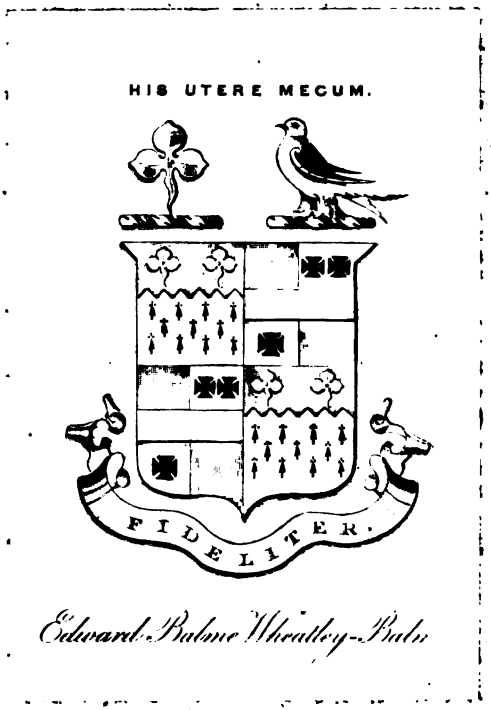

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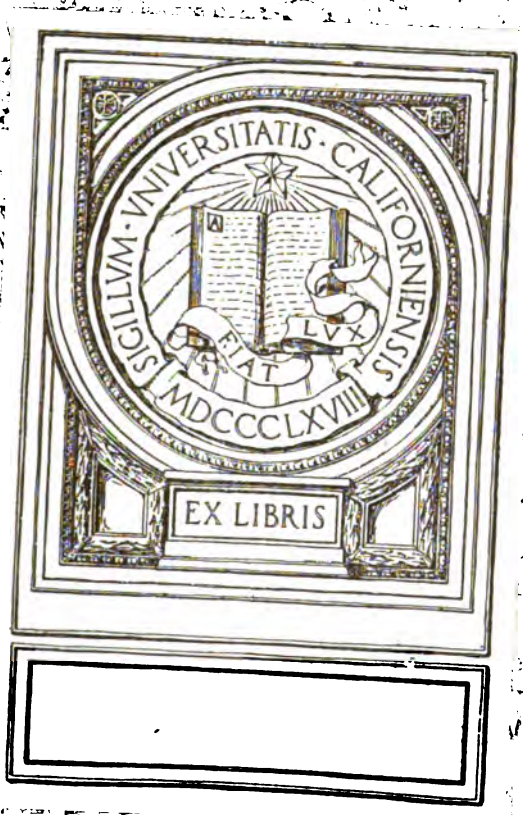

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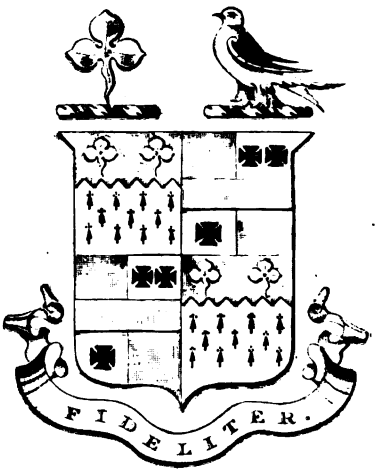

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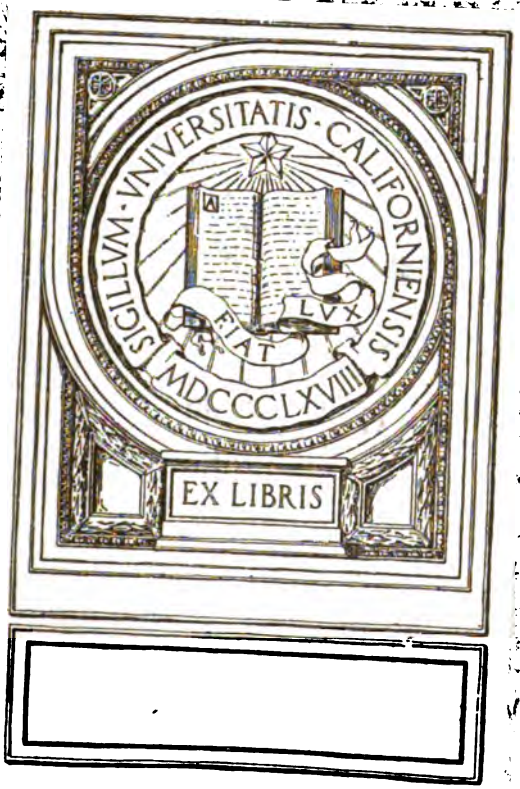

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME VI.

EDITOR;
RICHARD S. FERGUSON, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.

1881-1882.

KENDAL: PRINTED BY T. WILSON.
1883.

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The Council of the CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, and the Editor of their Transactions, desire that it should be understood, that they are not responsible for any sentiments or opinions expressed in their Transactions; the Authors of the several papers alone being responsible for the same.

The Society is indebted to the Editor for the wood blocks which accompany his paper on the Arms of Carlisle; to Dr. Taylor for illustrations to his papers, "On a Cup-marked Stone," and "On Legends and Inscriptions"; and to Mr. T. Lewis Banks, for some of the illustrations to his paper on "Egremont Church."

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MEETINGS HELD BY THE SOCIETY

1881 AND 1882.

FOR READING PAPERS AND MAKING EXCURSIONS.

1.	Penrith and Brougham Hall, -	Jan. 19 & 20, 1881.

2.	Kendal, Sizergh Castle, and Levens Hall, - -	July 7th, 1881.
	Kendal, Skelsmergh & Burneside Halls; High House, Hugill, and St. Catherine's Church, Crook, - - -	„ 8th, „

3.	Egremont, Calder Abbey, Gosforth, Seascale, and Calder Hall, Ponsonby Church, and St. Bridget's Cross, -	August 30th, 1881.
	Egremont, Castle and Church, Walls Castle, and Muncaster Castle, - -	„ 31st, „

4.	Carlisle and neighbourhood, in conjunction with the Royal Archæological Institute, -	August 1 to 8, 1882.

5.	Keswick and Crosthwaite, -	October 5th, 1882.
	Bassenthwaite, Peel Wyke, Castle Howe and Caermote,	„ 6th, „

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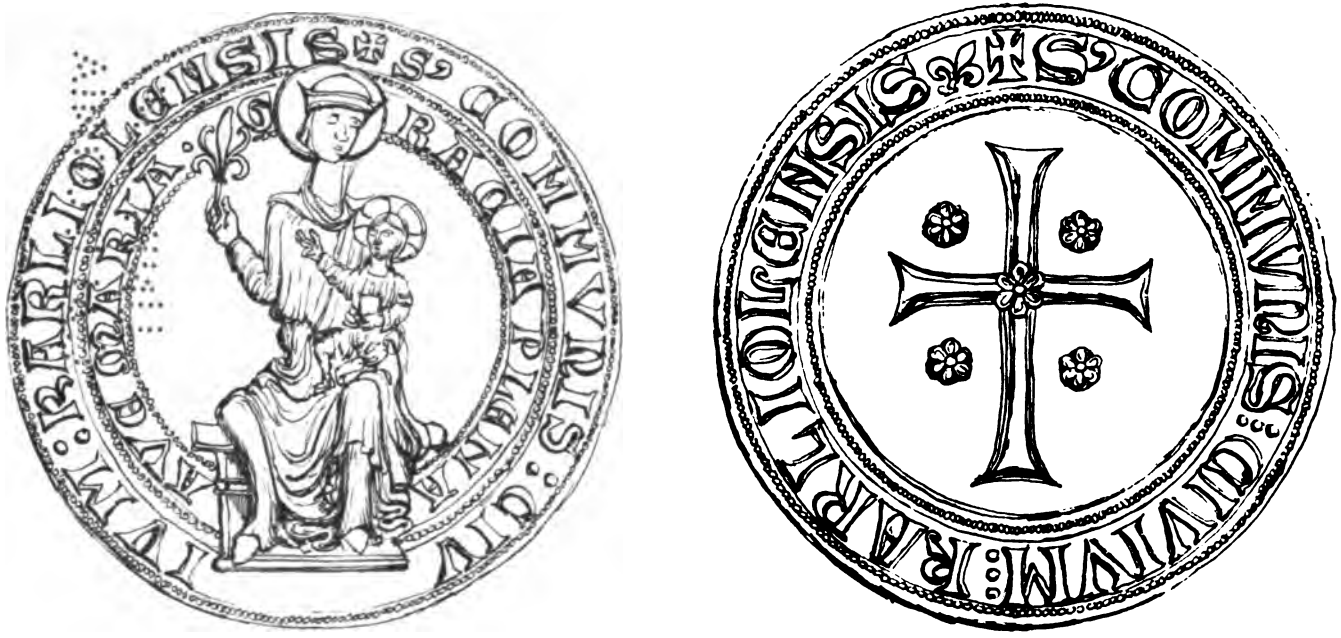

SEAL OF THE CITY OF CARLISLE.

Reprinted from "Reliquary" Vol XI.

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ART. I.—*The Armorial Bearings of the City of Carlisle.* By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Communicated at Kirkby Stephen, August 18th, 1880.

A FEW months ago a writer in one of the Carlisle papers raised a question about the Latin rendering of the motto, "*Be just, and fear not.*" This maxim was suggested by the late Mr. G. G. Mounsey (so our City Treasurer tells me) as a motto for the city of Carlisle, and it has been generally adopted. It is taken from the great Wolsey scene in Henry VIII., which iconoclastic critics now assign to Fletcher, and not to Shakespeare, and from the speech beginning

> "Cromwell, I did not think to shed a tear
> In all my miseries; . . . . .
> . . . . *Be just, and fear not:*
> Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
> Thy God's, and truth's."*

Considering, then, the history of this motto, we might well have been spared the shock of seeing it disguised as "justus esto et ne metue," a piece of Latinity fit only for the dogs.† Had it been necessary for Carlisle to have a Latin motto, the "Dormont Book"‡ would have furnished ample choice. None could be better motto for the governing body of a city than "*Ubi nullus ordo, ibi sempiternus horror;*" or the Reformed Corporation might have taken "*Novo malo novum remedium est opponendum,*" and have

* Henry VIII., Act III., Scene 2, lines 428, 446-7.

† SIS JUSTUS NEC TIMEAS, is the motto of the Irish family of Garvey, of whom is Rev. James Garvey, rector of Ashby-cum-Fenby, county Lincoln. Arms —Ermine, 2 chevronelles gu. between three crosses formees of the same. Crest—A lion passant guardant gu. I am indebted to the Rev. J. T. Fowler for this information.

‡ The Regestar Governor, or Dormont Book, of the Comon wealth of th' inhabitances wthin the Citie of Carlel, renewed in the year our Lord God, 1561.

thus

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thus recorded the defects our ancestors discovered in the old governing body of Carlisle, and the new broom that was invented, when the old Corporation was swept into limbo.

The Reformed Corporation of Carlisle, in the hot zeal of 1835, discarded many good things which had belonged to their predecessors, and dropped many good customs which their predecessors had loved to maintain. Among other good things which they discarded, they discarded the armorial bearings which their predecessors had used, and they adopted a shield, now familiar to us, not then new, but to which the unreformed Corporation had never but once, by employing it, given sanction. It is blazoned as

"Vert, a castle between two roses or; on a chief gules, a lion passant guardant of the second, the base wavy argent and sable (or azure, which seems the more modern usage.")

Or, more particularly,

"Vert, the base wavy of six argent and azure, thereon a castle between two roses or; on a chief gules, a lion passant guardant of the fourth."

The lion might be simply blazoned as "a lion of England," or even the whole chief as a "chief of England," for it is taken from the Royal Arms of England, with a view to earmark the achievement as that of an English city. The whole composition is often explained to mean an English city standing in a green meadow on the brink of a river; or on three rivers, Eden, Petteril, and Caldew. This last idea, however, falls to the ground, for the older examples of this coat are always wavy of four pieces only, not of six. That the

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the composition admits of this very ingenious explanation is almost a proof that the composition is the work of a late herald; at any rate, that it came into existence, full grown, like Minerva out of Jupiter's head, and did not grow, as most old coats of arms did, gradually.

I can nowhere find that this coat of arms was ever used or recognised by the unreformed Corporation of Carlisle; it is not given in any Herald's Visitation; it is not known to the College of Arms, except as occurring on certain maps and in certain books. It first occurs, that I can find, on the first edition of Speed's Map of Cumberland, which was published in 1610,* and is on a plan of Carlisle, which is in the corner of the map of the county: a fac-simile

is here reproduced. The base is wavy of four pieces only, two of which are scored diagonally according to the conventional notation for *purpure*. But this certainly means nothing: this method of indicating tinctures was not known in England in 1610, and all the other tinctures of the shield are tricked with letters. Speed gives no authority for assigning this coat to Carlisle. But be it also noted that he further gives the arms of "The Earles of Carlile," viz., "Mercatus E., Ran Meschems Andrew Harkley," and those of "Henry Clifford Earle," *i.e.* of Cumberland. On the 2nd edition, which was not published until after 1660, Speed adds the arms of Hay, Earl of Carlisle, and Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle. He gives the arms of Mercatus as B, three spears bendwise O., armed A.; of Meschems, barry O and G; and of Harkley, A, a cross G, cantoning a martlet V.

* Speed, John, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, London: Printed for Thomas Basset, at the George, in Fleet Street, and Richard Chiswel, at the Rose and Crown, in the St. Paul's Churchyard, MDCLXXVI. The maps of this work, part i., are of older date than the "Tables of Towns," &c., they are of the year 1610. I have the map of Cumberland, but not the book. I am obliged to Mr. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., for consulting the book for me; it is on the reserved list in the Library S.A. I have since had the opportunity of consulting the book myself.

The

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These are tricked with letters. The chequers and fesse of Clifford he does not trick at all, but the alternate squares he scores with the notation for *purpure*, clearly meaning nothing, for the chequers of Clifford, are well known to be Or and Az. I am writing with both editions of Speed's map before me. The second edition is from the same plate, on which the two additional coats of arms have been cut; the three red escutcheons carried by Hay are scored *purpure*-wise, though clearly the scoring does not denote *purpure*. The importance of this digression will appear presently.

To return to the coat of arms we are discussing, viz., the Castle between two roses, the base wavy, and the chief of England. This is assigned to Carlisle, in a Manuscript Book in the College of Arms, called "Arms of Towns," which is of the date of Charles II., and which Mr. Bellasis, the learned and courteous Bluemantle Pursuivant of Arms (to whom I am much indebted for information), informs me is of "no high authority." It appears again on an anonymous Itinerary* in my possession, of a date apparently late in the 17th century, or early in the 18th. The tinctures are here denoted by scoring, and the base is wavy of four Arg: and Az. It appears again in an anonymous book, published in London in 1713, entitled "The Arms or Common Seals of the Cities and Borough Towns in England and Wales." It is in Cox's Magna Britannia, published in 1720, with the base wavy of four argent, and azure, and the lion on the chief passant to the sinister! It occurs in Guillim, edition of 1724, but not in the editions of 1660, 1664, or in earlier ones.† It occurs in Buck's View of Carlisle, 1745, where the base is wavy of four, argent and sable.

---

* The anonymous Itinerary is a page from "Britannia Depicta, or Ogilvy Improved, being a correct copy of Mr. Ogilvy's Actual Survey of all ye Direct and Principal Cross Roads in England and Wales." John Ogilvy was cosmographer and master of His Majesty's Revels in Ireland; author of "Britannia, or an illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales; by a geograpical and historical description of the principal roads thereof. London, 1675."

† I do not know about the edition of 1679. I find

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I find this same coat, having the base wavy of four, on a stone in the wall of the Corporation House at King Garth, with this inscription :—

GEORGE PATTINSON
Esqr. Mayor of the City
of CARLISLE and
Mr JOHN BROWN Mr
GEORGE SOWERBY
Bayliffs 1751.

I further find this same coat with the Castle, &c., or what is intended for it, on a silver cup belonging to the Guild of Butchers at Carlisle, and presented to them by William Nanson of London, in 1791. This instance is remarkable, as having no base wavy, and as having a crest, viz., a Standard displayed argent, thereon a cross gules—the Standard of St. George of England! What may be the authority for this I know not. This same coat of arms, whose history we are following, crops up again on a plate in the second volume of Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, published by F. Jollie in 1794. This plate is very curious;* it was drawn by Carlile, a well-known local artist, and engraved by James Lewis. It is perfectly clear that none of those concerned in its production knew anything of heraldry; except, perhaps, how to represent the tinctures by scoring. The plate contains five oval views of buildings in Carlisle, and round the central one (a view of the Cathedral) are ranged eight coats of arms. Six of these are most clearly taken from the second edition of Speed's Map, for Speed's meanless scoring, which resembles *purpure*, is

* A key to this plate is in the book, viz., "A List and description of the Engravings." It follows the list of Subscribers, and precedes the Index. It is paged 5, and gives the arms as "No. 1, James Hay, E. of Carlisle; 2, Henry Clifford, E. of Carlisle; 3, Henry Fitz David, E. of Carlisle; 4. the City Arms; 5. Marcatus, E. of Carlisle; 6, Ranulph Meschines, first E. of Carlisle; 7, Andrew de Harcla, E. of Carlisle; 8, Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland. N.B.—We have not attempted a chronological arrangement of the Earls, as we have not met with any record on the subject. For the arms of the present Earl of Carlisle, see the view of Naworth Castle."
I doubt if Hutchinson or Jollie ever looked for any records at all.

carefully

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carefully followed in the Clifford and Hay arms, and in those assigned to the City of Carlisle, while the other tinctures are scored correctly, scoring being substituted for Speed's lettering. It is perfectly clear that Mr. Jollie or his artists took their arms, including the Carlisle ones, from Speed's second edition of his map.*

In November 1798 Mr. Jollie, who was a man of great enterprise, brought out the *Carlisle Journal*. He headed it with the coat of arms whose history we have been discussing, and filled up a column or two with an account of Carlisle, taken, as no doubt he took the arms, from his County History, *i.e.*, Hutchinson, but by now, better informed, he scores the base argent and azure. Both on the plate in his history, and on the *Journal*, he makes it of four pieces. The *Journal* used this heading for many years, and no doubt familiarised people with it: their present heading was adopted in 1838.

Jollie was the pioneer of several enterprising local publishers and printers, Jefferson, the Thurnams, and others, who have all adopted this coat as the arms of Carlisle, some giving four, others six pieces in the base. It also appears on the cheques of the local banks, who one and all score the base as argent and gules!

Throughout the whole series of the engravings of this coat from Speed, through Jollie, Jefferson, and Thurnam, down to the present Corporation printers, runs one unmistakeably proof that all are descended from Speed: it is in the Lion and his beard. The same vast and extraordinary beard runs through the whole series, and proves their parentage.†

* An odd deviation from Speed is to be noticed: the spears of Mercatus are placed bend sinister-wise! and Harcla's martlet looks to the sinister, and is in a canton sinister! In the arms of Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland, the lions ramp to the sinister! This is not the error of an engraver forgetting to reverse the drawing, for the lion in the "City Arms" is passant to the dexter. But the three shields on which these anomalies appear are ranged on the sinister side of the central oval, the "City Arms" to the dexter; there has evidently been a design to make the animals, &c., look outward for *symmetry!*

† In the Topographical Dictionary of England, published by S. Lewis in 1831, in four large quarto volumes, an engraving is given of this coat as the arms of

Neither

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Neither Camden, nor Tonge, nor St. George, nor Dugdale, ever give this coat of arms; nor was it ever, excepting the instance at King Garth, used by the Corporation of Carlisle until after 1835. It first makes its appearance on the picture of Mr. G. G. Mounsey, now in the Town Hall, where the base is wavy of four, argent and sable. Up to that time I believe it to have had no sanction by the Corporation of Carlisle, and to have been the spontaneous invention of Speed, evoked out of his own inner consciousness. If so, his invention had a great success: it was taken up by the map makers, and the print sellers, and the book writers: it was adopted by the Reformed Corporation, and is now universally supposed to be the Arms of the City of Carlisle! More astounding yet: it has of late years appeared on ball cards, and on club note paper, as the Arms of the County of Cumberland, in happy disregard of the fact that counties have not and cannot have coats of arms.

Thus much of the history and lineage of what is generally believed to be the Arms of the City of Carlisle. It is a terrible *crux* to artists: Speed, and Buck, and Jefferson, draw it correctly enough, taking, however, their models from the most debased period of heraldic drawing; but for a real atrocious bad specimen thereof the large gas lamps before the Town Hall should be consulted. The wooden achievements inside the Town Hall are wrongly painted; the one on the drop scene at the theatre is wrongly drawn; on the cheques of the local banks it is wrongly tricked: while one and all, including that stamped on the Corporation documents, and that on the top of the *Carlisle Journal*, both otherwise correct, exhibit the most unheraldic lions.

Carlisle. The compiler in his preface states that Sir George Naylor and other gentleman at the Heralds' College furnished the Arms. This only comes round to the 1724 edition of Guillim, and the MS. Book of "no great authority." But the engraving given in Lewis is the parent of some of the modern editions of this coat; it has the base wavy of six, the first example that I find. The castle, too, here first changes from its old form of a simple tower to two towers joined by a curtain wall in which a gate. About sixty copies of this work were subscribed or in Carlisle. I have,

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I have, therefore, great pleasure in giving above, on page 2, an engraving by Mr. Forbes Nixon, of what it should be. As it generally occurs with the scoring denoting the tinctures, I have desired Mr. Nixon to add the scoring, though it is more correct, and more artistic to leave it out, and he shows the modern usage of making the base of six pieces, and of giving for the castle two towers and a curtain wall, in which a gate.

All the while that the publishers and printers were inflicting on the citizens of Carlisle as their arms Speed's enigmatical composition, they ignored *in toto* a most beautiful achievement which the unreformed Corporation of Carlisle always used, as the reformed Corporation continue to do, though they also use Speed's.

The old Corporation of Carlisle used as their armorial bearings, a red cross patee, or fleurie, between four red roses in a golden field, while a fifth red cross is charged on the centre of the cross. For this there is abundant evidence, going back four hundred years and more. It is to be found where one would naturally look for it—on the reverse of the common seal of the City of Carlisle, which is an attentuated cross patee between four roses or sexfoils, within the legend

S'.COMMVNIS : CIVIVM : KARLIOLENSIS,

while a fifth rose or sexfoil is on the centre of the cross.*

* Mr. Bellasis writes of the roses—"I suppose they are roses; our note of the Common Seal (Dugdale's Visitation, 1666, c. 39, last cal: 38) makes them 'octofoils,' and an octofoil is repeated on the centre of the cross, which is almost of a pattee sort, or shape." Dugdale is not accurate; they are sexfoils on the seal. The Dormont Book of 1651 shows the "octofoils," or sexfoils, to be then understood to be roses.

The

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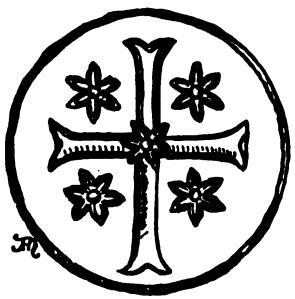
The obverse is the Virgin Mary enthroned, holding the infant Saviour on her knee and having a fleur-de-lis in her right hand: on an inner circle is the angelic salutation AVE: MARIA: GRATIA: PLENA. And on an outer circle the same legend as on the reverse. The accompanying woodcut gives the obverse and reverse of the seal from Lewis's Topographical Dictionary.

Obverse Reverse

Among the Corporation muniments is a safe-conduct of the date of 1462 with this seal appended thereto,* and I give here an engraving of the central portion of the reverse of the seal; the same matrices are now in use that were in use in 1462.



This coat, a red cross fleurie between four red roses in a golden field, is on the fly-leaf of the "Dormont Book," dated 1561. In this instance the ends of the

* "Letters of safe conduct for fifteen days from James III., King of Scotland, for Richard, Earl of Warwick; William, Earl of Kent; John, Bishop of Durham; John, Lord Montagu; Ralph, Baron of Greystoke; and others travelling into Scotland. Dated at Dumfries, June 17, 1462, *sub magno sigillo nostro*. The seal of the City of Carlisle, however, (through some cause hitherto unexplained) is appended to this document. Obverse and reverse as above described." From catalogue Archæological Museum formed at Carlisle, 1859.

This safe conduct is now, 1880, with the Corporation muniments, and it is printed in the Archæological Journal, vol. 17, p. 54, where Mr. Albert Way describes the seal, and calls the roses sex-foils. He describes the reverse—"a plain cross with a sex-foiled flower at the intersection, between four sex-foils." Although he calls the cross plain, it does not extend to the margin of the field, and broadens out at the ends of its arms; see the engraving. Mr. Way considers the document to be a copy, merely, of a deed "*sub magno sigillo nostro*" to which the Carlisle seal has been fixed as evidence that it is a true copy.

cross

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cross are fleurie, not patee, and the fifth or central rose is omitted. This is the earliest authority for the tinctures. This same coat of arms, a cross patee and five roses, occurs on the seal of the Mayor of Carlisle appended to the admission of Leonard Dykes to the freedom of the City—date 1640. The legend round the seal is defaced, except the word MAIORIS.* It is curious that the deed purports to be sealed with the Corporation Seal, whereas the Mayor's seal has actually been used. The same seal, but in worse condition, is to a deed of 1673. I have no doubt it is on many other deeds of the 17th century, but most of the seals are now mere dollops of wax.

The cross and roses were also on the seal of the Statute-Merchant of Carlisle, which is thus described by Mr. C. S. Perceval, Direc. S.A. "It is half of a circular seal, as if from a matrix purposely cut in two. The device is (half of) the cross patee, cantoned with roses, which appears as the town seal. The legend S (igillum Statute Me] RCATORIS CARLILE 1670."† This seal, or rather moiety of a seal, cannot now be found, but by the kindness of Mr. Perceval I have been furnished with

* Apud Ciuitatem Carlioli vicesimo secondo die mensis May Anno dni nri Caroli nune regis Anglie decimo sexto Annoq dni 1640 Maiore, ballis, et maxima pte Consilij dict Ciuitatis conventis Leonardus Dykes Armiger Creatus factus et admissus fuit liber Ciuis et burgensis dict Ciuitatis Carlioli, pro suis auxilijs et bene meritis dict Ciuitat impensis et impendendis: Qui juravit fidelitatem pro nro regi et Maiore dict Ciuitate more solit In cujus rei testimoniu Johnes Baynes Armiger Maior Ciuitat pred manu sua et comunr Sigillo dict Ciuitate Carlioli apposuit die et Anno supra dict.

Extract ex recordis Ciuits
Carlioli prdict
p me Leonard Milborne
clicum Curie ibn.

† Proc. Soc. Ant., 2nd series, vol. vii., p. 119.

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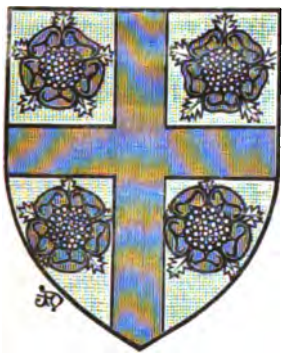
a gutta-percha* impression of it, one of several made by the late Mr. Albert Way. It exhibits a cross patee with five roses, as seen by the engraving which I have had made.

The same coat occurs on the escutcheon held by the lion on the top of "Carel" cross, which was built, as the inscription tells us, in 1682, "Joseph Reed, Maior."



Here it is to be noted the cross patee or fleurie becomes a plain cross, whose arms extend to the borders of the field and the fifth or central rose disappears. A new Mayor's seal must have been made about this time, or a little later, for in 1709 I find the Mayor's seal attached to a deed of that date, and it bears a plain (thin) cross extending to the borders of the field. No central rose—indeed it finally disappeared when the Mayor's seal used in 1709 was made. Another new Mayor's seal was made in 1731, and is now in use. It differs only in the shape of the shield from its predecessor. It was made in 1731, as shown by the inscription round the rim, which is

JOSEPH JACKSON, MAYOR, 1731.

The legend on the seal is

SIGILLVM. OFFICII. MAIORIS. CIVITATIS. CARLIOLEN.

We find these same armorial bearings, the plain cross and four roses, on the exterior of the Town Hall, once under date of 1717, "Joseph Parker, Mayor," and again in 1799, "Richard Jackson, Mayor." It occurs again on the fine piece of ironwork which decorates the Corporation pew in

* It is thus described in the Catalogue of the Museum formed by the Archæological Society at Carlisle in 1859: — Moiety of a silver seal, of which the two parts, no doubt preserved in the custody of two distinct officials of the city, were united by a screw, and by a mortice and tenon. When complete it displayed an escutcheon of the City arms, and on the portion preserved appears the legend, &c." The "portion preserved" is now wanting.

St.

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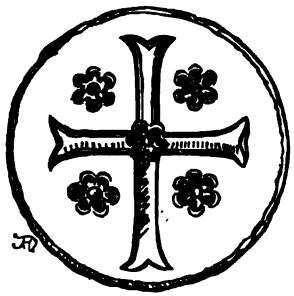
St. Cuthbert's Church, of the date doubtless when the church was rebuilt, viz., 1778. It is also to be found on the city boundary stones.

Thus we have abundant evidence* that the ancient arms of Carlisle were a red cross patee, between four red roses in a golden field, while a fifth rose was charged on the centre of the cross. We have further evidence that about the end of the 17th century the cross patee became a plain cross, and the central rose was omitted. I for one regret that the cross patee and the roses were ever thrown over for the ingenious conceit devised by Mr. Speed. For that we are indebted to Mr. Jollie, and the powerful influence of the *Carlisle Journal*.



To pursue the investigation further—can reason be found why a red cross with five red roses should be the ancient armorial bearings of Carlisle? I think there can—a reason connected with the history of the old city.

Now, an obvious and probable way for a civic corporation to acquire its armorial bearings would be by adoption of those of some successful leader of the municipal forces. It is certainly more than a coincidence that we find the ancient family of Carlisle of Carlisle,† bearing on a golden

* I had hoped to have additional evidence in Carlisle Cathedral. Dr. Todd, in his MS. "Notitia Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Carliolensis," writes, "Circa An. D. MCCCLX . . . Civitas Karliol ad. Struendam Ecclesiam Nummos de publico Ærario Suppeditarunt; ut Arma Fecialia restantur quæ in Ecclesia ibidem depicta cernantur." *Arma fecialia* means the Heraldic Arms, the coats of Arms. A shield now in the roof bears a plain red cross containing four red roses in a golden field. This of course is modern, but one would suppose there was authority for it. At the restoration of the Cathedral in 1856 the old shields and bosses from the roof were carried away by the workmen, and sold for 2/6 a-piece.

† Nicholas Carlisle, in his "History of the Carlisle Family," p. 27, says that Dethick, Garter King at arms, tempore Elizabeth, in a grant of arms recites that Carlisle of Carlisle bore those arms in the reign of Edward I. In Nicholas's Roll of Arms of Peers and Knights, compiled between 2nd and 7th of Edward II. is—"Sir William de Carlel de Or a une crois patee de goules"

field

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field a red cross fleurie or patee; and that a member of that family, Hildredus de Carliol, or de Carlisle, was sheriff of Carlisle (not Cumberland) in the reigns of Henry I. and Henry II.

Another local hero, Andrew de Harcla, the gallant defender of Carlisle in the siege by Robert Bruce in 1315, also bore Argent, a plain red cross, cantoning a martlet.* A beautiful initial letter on the Charter granted to Carlisle by Edward II. represents Harcla, recognisable by the arms on his shield, defending Carlisle with great vigour and force. The citizens evidently thought much of him, and probably remembered his banner and arms long after Andrew de Harcla had gone to his death-verse on Haribee Hill, but the colour of his shield, and the shape of his cross differ from those of the City of Carlisle. That City probably took its arms from those of the family of De Carlisle.

It yet remains to account for the red roses. I think that those have been adopted in honour of the Virgin Mary, whose cult prevailed extensively in Carlisle, and whose emblem the red rose is.† The Cathedral was dedicated to

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* In Nicholas's Roll is—

"Sire Michel de Herteclaue de argent a une crois de goules. Sire Andrew de Herteclaue meisme les armes e un merelot de sable."

† The usual emblem flowers of the B V.M. are the lily and the flowering almond. But she is addressed in the ancient sequences as "Rosa sine spina"—'Rosa spinis carens"—"Rosa speciosa"—"Rosa mystica" in the Litany of Loretto. Strictly her rose was the rose of Jericho, which was called "Rosa Mariæ," and should be represented with four petals. I do not think this rule was adhered to, for on an aumry in the Cathedral I find the five-petaled rose, and Prior Gondibar, whose initials are also there, probably intended to honour the patroness of the Cathedral. It may be added that the lily took its origin, together with the rose, as an emblem of the Virgin Mary from a misapplication of a passage of Scripture—"I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys" (Song of Solomon, ii-1). The early commentators all applied this passage to Christ or (and more correctly) to his Bride the Church. But when, in later times the *cultus* of the Virgin Mary was developed, the words were assigned to her. The "rose" here is not a rose at all, but to judge from the Hebrew words used, some bulbous plant growing on the plains, and, probably, a *narcissus*. Hence the terms, addressed to the Virgin Mary, "Rosa sine spina," "Rosa spinis carens," were perhaps more correct than was intended. The so-called *rose of Jericho*, sometimes mentioned in this connection, was simply a curious plant (*Anastatica hierochuntina*) picked up by the pilgrims on the hot sandy plains near Jericho, and from its dry ligneous character easily conveyed home as a relic. I am indebted to Canon Prescott for some of the above information; also to Mr. Bellasis and the Rev. T. Lees.

her

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her, and the old name of the foundation was the Priory of House of Regular Canons (not monastery) of the B.V.M.; its chief glory was a life-sized image of her, dressed gayly with jewels and in fine clothes;* while its pillars were diapered with huge red roses, and the monogram J. M. (Jesu Maria.)† She was, too, the patroness of the city; she had personally intervened for its protection in one of the Scottish sieges,‡ and a chapel dedicated to her stood on the top of the English Gate.§ She thus came to be represented on the City Seal, and her roses (such at least is my idea) found place on the civic shield of arms.‖

Surely a coat of arms so interesting, and the sole one appertaining to Carlisle for which there is unquestionable authority, should not be discarded: rather, since the modern one has grown so familiar to us, let us keep both: and let us distinguish them, as heralds do those of France, as "Carlisle Ancient" and "Carlisle Modern."

There is, however, a third claimant, for Mr. Bellasis refers me to an entry in an Alphabet of Arms at the College of Arms, tempore Charles II., which is as follows:—

"Cumbd. Carlisle—Gules, two keys in saltire between four cross crosslets fitchee, Or. (A city.")

* An indulgence from the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle on behalf of a richly decorated statue of the B.V.M., which is to be erected in the Cathedral at Carlisle, [Reg. Archieps. Kempe 152 b.] is printed, vol. 44, Surtees Society, Priory of Hexham, p. xcvii, where are also other indulgences in favour of Carlisle.

† Mackenzie Walcott's Memorials of Carlisle, p. 23.

‡ The Chronicle of Lanercost.

§ So I am told, but I want further authority for this. The view of the English Gate in "Carlisle in the Olden Time" seems to show a chapel on top of the gate.

‖ I am rather inclined to think that here we have the explanation of the name of the residence of the Bishop of Carlisle—Rose Castle. It is called "La Rose," "Escrit a nostre manoir de la Rose" occurs often in Bishop Welton's register (Letters from Northern Registers), while earlier still (the first mention of the place), Edward I. issues Parliamentary writs "apud La Rose," xxvi. die September (1301), Stubb's Select Charters. To this day Rose Castle is frequently called *the Rose* by the people of the neighbourhood. (See Lord W. Howard's Household Books, Surtees Society, vol. 68, p. 130.) Probably Bishop Halton, when he built the Castle, named it with reference to the patroness of his Cathedral. Bishop Barnes sealed with a single rose, beautifully engraved. This seal is pendant to two or three deeds, tempore Elizabeth, in possession of the Corporation of Carlisle. Lord Scrope also executes these deeds and seals with a bird on a mount.

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ART. II.—*The Castles of Brougham and Brough.* By G. T. CLARK, F.S.A.

ANNE Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, Baroness Clifford, Westmoreland, and Vesci, hereditary sheriff of Westmoreland, and Lady of the Honour of Skipton, in Craven, was in every way a remarkable woman: she was of high birth, held large estates, was the widow of two considerable peers, and had received and largely profited by an excellent education. To a strong and copious memory she added a sound judgement and a discerning spirit. She was a person of great firmness of character, and passed her life amidst events that exercised and strengthened that quality. Among the many subjects upon which she was informed, and which ranged, says Dr. Donne, from "predestination to slea silk," was included a very close knowledge of the particulars of her own estates, and a very thorough determination to maintain her houses and castles in good repair. She found the castles of her Clifford and Vipont ancestors, Appleby, Brougham, and Brough, in ruins; she restored and made them habitable, and, though time and the hand of the spoiler have again brought two of them, Brougham and Brough, to decay, their walls still exhibit much of the amending hand of the great Countess, as well as of the original work of her remote ancestors.

BROUGHAM CASTLE.

This very curious pile stands on the right bank of the river Eamont, just below the point at which it is joined from the south by the Lowther, so that the combined stream covers the fortress on the north, as do the two waters and the marshy ground between them on the west front

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front. The castle is placed but a few yards distant from and but a few feet above the Eamont, and between it and the large rectangular camp which marks the site of the Roman "Brovacum," whence both castle and township derive their names; such, at least, seems the most probable etymology, though a claim has been set up for Burgham, which would have been more tenable had there been evidence of the place having been an English as well as a Roman stronghold.

The Roman road from Brough and Appleby towards Carlisle and Penrith skirts the north-eastern front of both camp and castle, and is carried, by a modern bridge, across the river, a few yards below the latter. Above the castle and upon the Eamont, was placed the castle mill, the weir connected with which still remains. The actual site of Brovacum has been claimed for Brougham Hall, on the adjacent high ground; but, however this may be, the camp below is undoubtedly Roman, and an excellent example of the entrenchments of that people. A Roman altar was found, in 1602, at the confluence of the two rivers. What earlier name is embodied in the Roman Brovacum is not known, but "Bro" in South Wales is the old Welsh word for "the hill country," and is preserved in Brocastle and Broviscin, in Glamorgan. The parish of Brougham is large; the church is called Ninekirks, probably a corruption of St. Ninian's kirk. The parochial chapel, which stands near Brougham Hall, is dedicated to St. Wilfrid.

The camp is contained within a single bank and exterior ditch, both very well marked, though in height and depth very much reduced. Along the scarp or inner slope of the ditch are traces of a step or terrace, as for a line of palisades, in front of and below the main defence. The area within the ditch is 113 yards broad, and its length, now 134 yards, was probably 198 yards, those being the proportions of the camp at Brough. The ditch is about 25 yards broad. The entrance is gone; it was no doubt in the centre

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centre of the east side, that towards the road. The angles are, as usual, slightly rounded. The castle stands a few yards north of the camp, the adjacent parts of the latter having been cut away and levelled in forming its outworks. The castle is, in plan, a very irregular four-sided figure; the south and west sides meet at less than a right angle, and are in length 80 yards and 77 yards. The north side, at right angles to the west, and upon the river, is 50 yards. The east side has been partly rebuilt, with a low salient angle. It is in length about 40 yards. This area is the main, or rather the only, court of the castle. The keep originally stood clear within the court, near to its north-east angle; a large gatehouse now occupies that angle, and much of the north front, and is connected with the keep, which, therefore, is no longer isolated. The hall and domestic buildings stand against the south wall, and are continued a short distance along the east wall. A large square tower is placed at the south-west angle, and covers a postern. The west wall is free, and seems to have been low. The castle is about 50 yards from the river, and 30 feet above it. The entrance was from the east, along the bank of the river. A ditch, wholly artificial, and probably filled with rain-water, protected the west, south, and east fronts. Towards the west it is broadest and deepest, that being the exposed front. Towards the river the natural fall and the marshy character of the ground were a sufficient defence. The entrance is, and probably always was, in the east wall, at its north or river end. This part of the *enceinte* wall is built with a shoulder or re-entering angle, so as to command, for some yards, the approach to the outer gate. The moat is now traversed by a causeway of earth, replacing the earlier drawbridge.

The *gatehouse*, rectangular in plan, and 90 feet long by 39 feet broad, occupies the space between the keep and the north wall, and extends either way beyond the keep. It is composed of two parts,—one, a block of chambers, lodges, &c.,

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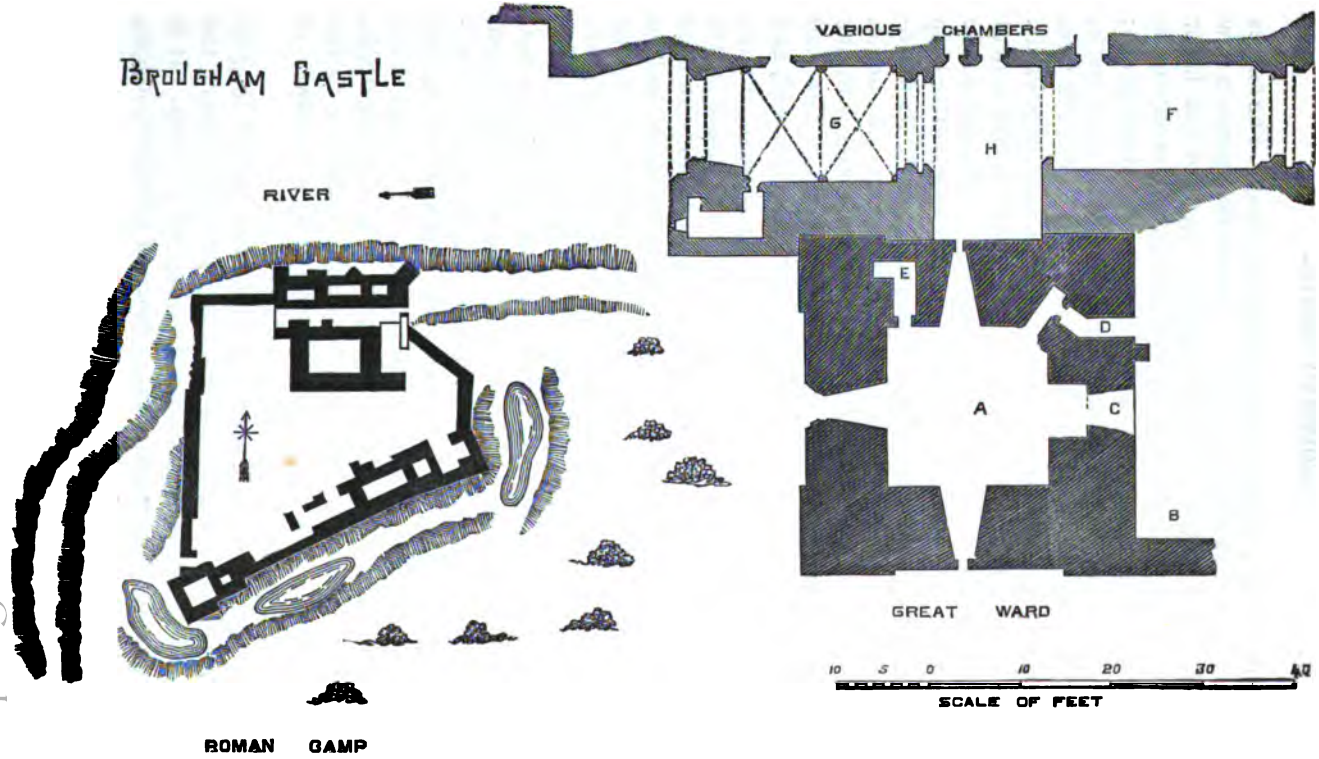

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&c., forms, or rather abuts upon, the curtain; the other, connecting these chambers with the keep, contains the vaulted entrance. The entrance is broken transversely into two parts, separated by a small open court. The outer passage, 34 feet long, belongs to the outer gate; the other, 36 feet, to the inner gate. The keep forms one side and the lodges the other. Thus, there are really two gatehouses,—one abutting on the north-east, and one on the north-west, angle of the keep, each with its own defences and gates, the buildings on the north communicating with both. The exterior portal is in the east wall. It has no flanking towers, being protected by the curtain. The north-east angle is capped by a square buttress, placed diagonally. The gateway has a plain flat segmental arch over it. Upon a stone are the words, "This made Roger," and above are two tiers each of two good decorated windows of two lights, with trefoiled heads and a quatrefoil in the head, and divided by a transom. Between the two upper windows are three bold corbels, intended to support a machicolation resembling those on each face of the keep. It is said that formerly the arms of Vaux, "checquy," were carved over the entrance; but it seems probable that they were the arms of Clifford, "chequy, a fess," or it may have been "a bendlet." The passage within, 11 feet broad, is vaulted. The first defence was a portcullis, of which the square groove, 6 inches broad by 4 inches deep, remains. Within this is the rebate for a pair of gates, and on the right the small door of a lodge. At the inner end of the passage was a second pair of gates, opening towards the first pair, and beyond them the open court, with the keep wall on the left. Above this outer gateway is a large room, 21 feet east and west, by 32 feet long. In its west wall is a fire-place, and a door opening into the middle chambers. In its north wall a good decorated window looks upon the river; in the east wall are two windows overlooking the outer gate, and between them, over the gate, a recess for working the portcullis. Beyond

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Beyond the open court is the second part of the gate-house, which commences by a portcullis, backed by a pair of doors, within which is a passage 20 feet long by 16 feet broad, vaulted in two bays with transverse and diagonal ribs springing from six corbels. There are no ridge ribs; the inner or further portal also had doors. The left-hand lodge is a vaulted cell, 11 feet long by 3 feet 3 inches broad. On the right the room is much larger, and leads to the north postern. The exterior or north front of these two gatehouses forms a handsome block, and is pierced by various openings at different levels. At its north-east corner is an angle buttress; then follows one in section a half square, set on diagonally; and west of this, again, is a large square buttress, in one side of which is the north postern, a small shoulder-headed door at the foot of a flight of stairs.

The lofty tower at the south-west angle of the court is about 35 feet square, with an appendage on the east face. It has thick walls and mural passages, and projects but little from the curtain. It has a basement and three upper floors. The first floor was entered by an exterior flight of stairs, which also communicated with the rampart of the west curtain. At its junction with the tower is the postern, the approach to which is guarded by a loop, while nearly over the door discharges the shoot of a garderobe.

Along the south wall are the domestic buildings, of which the chief was the chapel, about 35 feet by 20 feet. This was on the first floor, with a timber floor and open roof. The chamber below was entered from the court by a lancet door. The chapel had a large east window, of which the jambs remain; and in its south or curtain wall are two long trefoil-headed windows, splayed within. Towards the east end are three sedilia, also with trefoiled heads and trefoils in the spandrels, the whole beneath a flat top. There is also a piscina of late Decorated aspect. Near the chapel, towards the south-east angle, the remains of a large

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large fireplace seem to indicate the kitchen, and along the east wall are two windows, and traces of a fireplace between them, all which seem to belong to the hall. At the north end, also, on the first-floor, are remains of a handsome door, in the Perpendicular style, with a four-centered arch beneath a square head. The staircase may have been exterior. Grose shows some walls here in 1775, which are now gone.

The *keep*, called in Countess Anne's time "the Roman Tower," the only remain of the original castle, is 44 feet square, and, in its present state, of unusual height. Its exterior plinth is confined to the north side. The two western angles are covered by pilasters, 12 feet broad and of 6 inches projection, one on each face, meeting so as to form a solid angle. Two other pilasters, balancing these, cover the east end of the north and south walls, but there are none on the east side, that having been covered by the fore-building. The south face is prolonged eastwards 12 feet by a wall 5 feet thick, which rises to the third-floor level, and formed the south end of the fore-building. The pilasters rise to the present summit of the wall, and terminated originally in four square turrets, of which traces remain at the two northern angles. The keep has a basement and three upper floors, of which the uppermost, if not an addition, has been recast. The walls are 11 feet thick at the base, and at least 10 feet at the rampart level. The parapet is gone. There is no external set-off. In the centre of each face, and near the top, are three or four bold corbels, which evidently carried a short machicolation; and in the angles, near the top, are several cruciform loops, slightly fantailed at the top and bottom, and with lateral arms ending in oillets, much resembling those at Kenilworth. Some of these are the lower half of those of the turrets, which, with the parapet, were standing in 1775. At the upper part of the south-eastern angle the wall is corbelled out 12 inches for a breadth of 15 feet on the southern,

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southern, and rather less on the eastern, face. This is to give a little more space to a mural oratory, which has a loop on the south face, and a small trefoil-headed window towards the east, clear of the fore-building. On the north face, near the east pilaster, a vertical line of six loops shows the presence of a well-stair from the first-floor. The four lower loops have round heads; the two upper have square heads, and are probably later.

The basement is at the ground level. It has splayed loops to the north, west, and south; and in the east side is a recess with parallel sides, and a trace of a rebate of a doorway. This, if original, must have led into a cell below the fore-building, as at Rochester; but it may be a Decorated insertion. It is nearly covered up with rubbish. In the north-east angle, which has been filled up with a short wall, is a small door opening into a bent passage, which now leads into the open air, at where was the foot of the great entrance-staircase. There may always have been a cell here, but the cross-wall and the outer door are not original. In the west end of the north wall is another recess opening into a garderobe chamber, 5 feet long by 3 feet broad, and original. This basement floor has had a vaulted and ribbed roof, springing from corbels at the angles, and from four others, in the centre of each side. There was, in 1775, a central pier. As at Richmond, this vault was an insertion replacing timber. The basement was about 13 feet high.

The *first floor* is 23 feet square. It has round-headed window-openings to the north and west, in round-headed recesses, with beaded-angles. In the south wall was a fire-place, probably a garderobe, like that below. In the north-east angle, filled up like that below by a short cross-wall, is a door opening on a well-stair, which occupies that angle, and ascends to the roof. The east wall has been in some measure rebuilt, recently. In it may be seen parts of a large Decorated doorway, evidently inserted to give a direct

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direct entrance to the chamber. This floor has had an arcade against its walls, of which traces remain on the south and west sides. The arcade had slender piers and trefoiled arches. It is unusual to find so ornate a room in the first, or, indeed, any floor in a Norman keep: it must have more resembled a chapter-house than a private chamber. The chapel at Castle-Rising was so arcaded, and those at York, and in the curtain at Richmond. This floor was about 15 feet high, and was covered by the joists and floor of the room above.

The *second floor* has round-headed recesses, beaded at the angles, for the windows, in the north and west sides; and a flue, now laid open, occupies the south side. In the east wall is the original entrance,—a plain round-headed arch of 6 feet opening, with a chamfered rebate for an exterior door. There was no grate. Close north of this is a small door entering an oblique passage, which opened, as at Middleham and Rochester, upon the turret over the outer entrance of the forebuilding. The well-stair has no direct opening into this floor, whatever may have been the case before the alterations. There seems to be, as below, a garderobe in the north-west angle.

With this floor the original keep seems to have ended. There is now, however, a *third floor*, which if not altogether new, has been remodelled. The walls are very thick, and the four angles within are filled up with short walls, converting the chamber into an octagon, or rather into a square with the angles taken off. One of these fillings up, that to the north-east, is carried down the whole way. The other three are confined to the top floor, and rest upon brackets. This floor had a large recess and a window in in each of the four main faces, of which that to the west is segmental and ribbed. These recesses are now quite inaccessible; but it would appear, from the thickness of the wall, and from certain square apertures outside, that they communicate on the west side with mural chambers. In the

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the north-west angle is a very remarkable fireplace of about 9 feet opening, with a perfectly flat platband, composed of thirteen stones joggled together. This is a very fine example of this kind of work, and it stands quite unaltered. In the opposite, or south-eastern angle is a shallow-pointed recess, and in it a square-headed doorway, which opens into the oratory. The window recess in the south wall differs from the rest. Its arch was high-pointed, and moulded with deep reduplicated bands, with half-shafts with bell capitals; no doubt Decorated, but of Early English character. From the east jamb of this recess a second passage opens into the oratory, and this was probably the principal entrance to it. The oratory is seen from below to be vaulted and groined. It occupies the south-eastern angle of the building.

The east face of the keep was covered by the *fore-building*, which evidently contained a straight staircase, which rose from the north-east corner of the keep, and ascended to the main doorway on the second-floor level. This doorway, as at Middeham, is near the south end of the wall, but, notwithstanding, the steps must have begun above the ground level to reach, without undue steepness, so considerable a height. The wall has been so much injured, and so freely repaired, that the marks of the stairs are no longer visible, but a toothing and some springing stones, as for an arch, seem to show that the staircase rose from the North-east angle, under a covered way or low tower, the battlements of which were evidently reached by the oblique passage still seen above in the wall, as at Middleham and Rochester. Below the level of the original doorway are traces of a larger and more lofty doorway, in the ornate Decorated style,—evidently an insertion. This would give direct passage into the first-floor of the keep, and was probably inserted when the arcading was introduced, and this converted into the main apartment. There are other toothings and roughnesses in the wall, indicating various alterations.

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alterations. The fore-building was about 12 feet broad, and contained a basement and two floors, as shown by the openings in the south wall, which are, near the ground, a loop; above it, a small window; and above that a garderobe, corbelled out upon two heavy blocks upon the south wall. Above the line of roof of the fore-building is to be seen the east window of the oratory, and near it a cruciform loop.

Unfortunately for the close examination of this very curious keep, the upper part is inacessible, and ladders of sufficient length are not readily to be procured. The architectural history of the castle may be inferred from its details, so far as these are visible. It is evident that the original fortress was a late Norman keep, and it must have been placed within an *enceinte* pretty closely corresponding to that now seen, and which skirts the edge of the ditch. Of this supposed original *enceinte* wall, as well as of the domestic buildings and gatehouse, which must have been present in some form other within it, there remain no very certain traces. The keep, judging from internal evidence, and probably the ditches were the work of Robert de Vipont, very early in the thirteenth century.

In the Decorated period the castle underwent great alterations. The keep was probably raised a story, and an oratory included in the new work. The basement was vaulted, the first floor arcaded, and the fore-building so altered as to admit of an entrance on that floor. All the rest of the castle, gatehouses, domestic buildings, and the whole of the *enceinte* wall belong to one general period, and are probably the work of Roger de Clifford, the first of his race who held this property, and the husband of Isabel de Vipont, its heiress, in the reign of Edward I. Usually, when a Norman fortress was remodelled in the Edwardian period, the keep was neglected, and left in its original isolation; here, however, it was decided to turn the keep to account, and to ornament its principal chambers, and and connect them with the suite of rooms in the upper floor of the gatehouse. There

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There are some peculiarities of detail in this castle which need further investigation. The large windows of the first and second floors of the keep are original; but the half piers and bell-caps in the exterior jambs look much later, and may be a part of the decorated additions. It is said that the buildings against the east wall received some alterations from another Roger de Clifford, grandson of the former. It is curious that walls so thick as those of the keep, and of such good material, should have been left solid, for the most part unpierced by the chambers and passages so much affected by the Norman architects. It is also to be observed that the curtain wall is but scantily furnished with flanking defences. Countess Anne mentions "the Tower of Leaguer," and "the Pagan Tower," and "the Greystoke State Chamber," in Brougham Castle.

BROUGH CASTLE.

Brough Castle covers the whole of a steep knoll which rises 60 feet on the left bank of the Swimdale or Helle Beck, and is about 50 yards from the water. The beck receives the Augill from the south-east, just above the castle, and their combined waters, at times of considerable volume and force, fall into the Eden about a mile and a half lower down. The castle itself is 630 feet above the sea level, and the encircling fells of Westmorland and Yorkshire rise to elevations of from 1,000 to 2,000 feet. About five miles to the east are the sources of the Greta and the Balder, and a little further off and towards the north the head springs of the Lune, not the noble stream that gives name to Lancaster, but a tributary to the Tees.

Even in this wild and almost impenetrable country are traces of Roman civilisation. The road from Lavatræ (Bowes) to Luguvallium (Carlisle) ran through Brough, which is identified with the station Verteræ, and by Appleby and Brougham, joining at Penrith the main road, the work of the same people, from the south. Five and seven miles

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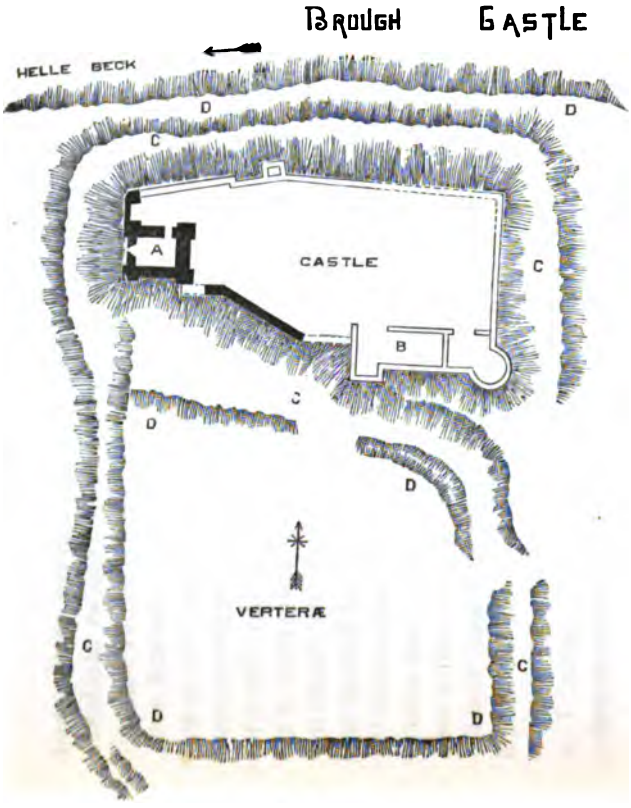

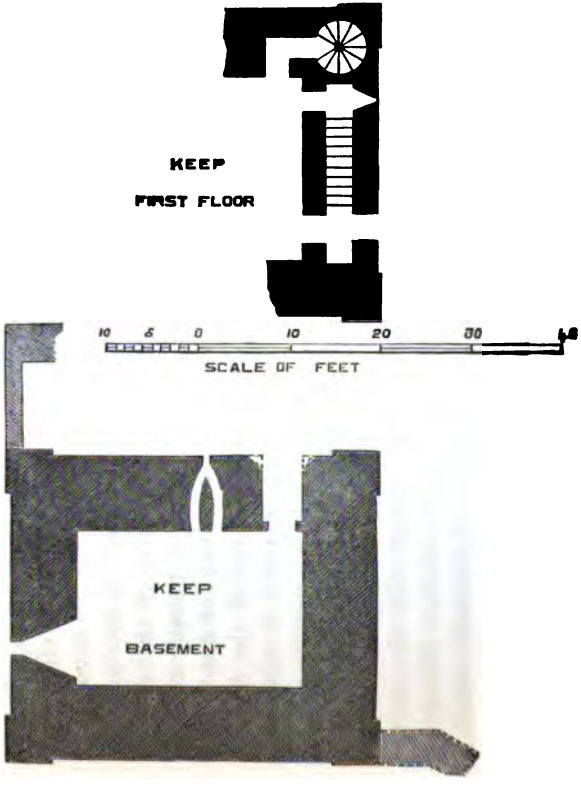

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miles to the east of Brough are two Roman camps, and there are others upon the same line of road at Redlands and Kirkby-Thore, and a very perfect one at Brougham. The Roman road at Brough runs generally east and west, and crosses the beck at Market-Brough, so called in distinction from Church-Brough, which lies three furlongs to the south of the river, and contains the castle. The collective parish is named "Brough-under-Stainmore." Verteræ, if identified with the existing camp and castle, stands off the main road, and south of the river, as at Brougham.

Verteræ is represented by a rectangular camp, of which the castle covers the northern and higher end, that next to the river. This camp is 157 yards north and south by 113 yards east and west, of which the platform within the ditch covers 134 yards by 90 yards. Of this area there is cut off at the northern end by a cross-ditch a plot, 90 yards east and west by 50 yards, which is occupied by the castle. This portion is further defended by some additional earthworks, perhaps Norman, to the east and west. The southern fragment of the camp seems to have been used as a sort of out-work to the castle, probably for the protection of sheep and cattle.

The castle was thus placed cross-wise in the camp and parallel to the river, the action of which has carried away the outer half of its ditch, and converted the slope into a precipitous bank, at the top of which is the curtain-wall. The eastern outwork is composed of the end of the knoll or ridge on which the castle stands, and which is scarped into a triangular platform, the base of which, 57 yards long, covers the end of the fortress, and projects 38 yards. The ditch cutting off this work from the body of the place is 23 yards broad, and very deep. The earthworks westward are two banks and ditches, across the tail of the knoll, one 57 yards long, and 47 yards in advance of the main ditch, and the other 84 yards further in advance, and 94 yards long. Both are intended to cut off approaches along the river

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river bank. The cross-ditch covering the south front of the castle is about 30 yards broad, and up it, from the east, came the main approach. These ditches, on the south east and west fronts, are wholly artificial. There is also a trace of a bank and ditch along the east front of the camp, about 30 yards in advance of the main ditch, and about 60 yards long. A road, which may be Roman, comes up from the south, and crosses the Augill by a bridge, 250 yards above or to the east of the castle, to join the main road over another bridge in Market Brough. Upon this stream is the castle mill. The defences, in masonry, seem to have been confined to the castle proper. There is no trace of such upon the out-works, which probably were stockaded. The ditches are at far too high a level to have been fed from the river; but the soil is retentive, and they seem to have been filled with rainwater.

The castle is composed of one ward, a trapezium in outline, the east, north, and west sides being at right angles, and respectively 77, 90, and 57 yards, and the south or oblique side, 94 yards. It is, in fact, a right-angled triangle, with the acute angle truncated. The keep is placed at the truncated end, and forms the south-west angle of the ward, its south and west sides being exterior, and in the line of the curtain. The domestic buildings were along the south side and about the south-east angle, and built against the curtain. Near the centre of that side was the gatehouse, and attached east of it the hall, beyond which a large three-quarter drum tower capped the south-east angle. This and the gatehouse are the only mural towers. The kitchen and chapel and some later buildings probably rested against the east wall, and there are slight foundations between the gatehouse and the keep. The north curtain, towards the river, seems to have been free from buildings. Upon it are two buttresses, and in one a garderobe, entered probably by a side door and passage in the wall. This curtain is 3 feet to 5 feet thick, and from 12 feet to 15 feet high inside. The

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The *gatehouse* is placed near the centre of the south side of the castle. It was an oblong building, and formed the west end of a block of which the hall and withdrawing-rooms formed the eastern part and remainder. It was composed of a passage between two walls, of which one remains, and is 6 feet 6 inches thick and 45 feet long; the outer 10 feet being outside the curtain. The portal is gone, but the spring-stone remains of the inner doorway, 3 feet 7 inches broad, and recessed 8 feet 6 inches within the inner front. The vault of the passage, about 10 feet long, rested upon three bold ribs, of which the springing-stones remain, and beyond which was the outer gate, of which a part only remains. There was an upper floor, and if the rubbish were cleared away the plan of the gatehouse would be visible. The walls seem Norman, but the ribs, vault, and fittings are probably insertions of the Decorated age.

The *hall* was poor. It was on the first-floor level, and had a floor above it, and, therefore, a flat ceiling. The basement is composed of three vaults placed transversely, with flat, slightly-pointed arches. The doors are towards the court, and one chamber has a small Tudor fireplace, in a corner. Each had a loop in the outer end, and in the ends of two are mural garderobes in the substance of the curtain. The hall was not above 12 feet or 14 feet high. In its north side is a round-arched recess, probably the original entrance, by an outer stair; and near it a fireplace. In the south or curtain side are two good late Decorated windows of two lights, rather flamboyant in tone, with plain exterior drips. Above these is a step or ledge for the floor of the upper room, and two windows not directly over those of the hall.

There is no very decided evidence of a *chapel*. The *kitchen*, probably, was near the north-east end of the hall, and against the east end of the curtain. The both drawing-rooms were at the east end of the hall, and extended into *Clifford's Tower*, a fine bold drum of thirty feet

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feet diameter, which caps the south-east angle of the ward. This tower seems to be of Decorated date; and the base and part of the wall original; but it has been almost rebuilt, probably with the old cut stones, in the Tudor period, to which belong its numerous square-headed windows. Part of it was taken down in 1763.

The *keep* stands upon rather the highest part of the enclosure. It is rectangular, 43 feet east and west, by 51 feet north and south, and stands upon the curtain, with which its west and south faces are continuous. As it does not quite cover the whole end of the ward, this is closed by a low curtain, 17 feet long and 3 feet thick, which extends from the keep to the north-west angle of the ward. The keep is composed of a basement and three floors, and is about 60 feet high. The parapet is gone. It has a plinth only on the two exterior faces, where the ground is low, and there are two sets-off which indicate the level of the second and upper floors. At the end of each face is a pilaster, 7 feet broad, and of 6 inches projection, and those adjacent meet and form a solid angle. These pilasters rose clear of the wall to form angle turrets, of which parts remain. From the upper set-off, on the north and south faces, rises an intermediate pilaster, 3 feet broad. The walls at the base are 10 feet thick, and, at the top, 6 feet. The basement is at present nearly filled up with earth and rubbish, concealing much of the east side, and part of the south-east angle fell in in 1792, and obscures the details of the main entrance.

The *basement* is at present entered by a plain round-headed doorway of 4 feet 7 inches opening, in the north wall near its east end. This has a rebate for an inner door, but no groove for a portcullis. The outer jambs are broken away. It is pretty clear from a comparison of its ring-stones with the original arches above, that this entrance is an insertion, probably of the time of James I. or Charles I. In the same side, near the doorway, is a very peculiar air-hole,

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hole, formed of two loops, 2 feet apart, which converge to a single exterior loop. Possibly the basement was divided into two chambers, and one loop opened from each; but there is no trace of any partition. In the west wall there was probably another loop now converted into a window of two feet opening, square-topped, set in a bold splayed recess, evidently an insertion of a period when security was no longer the first consideration. The window opens in the line of the plinth, the set-off of which is carried over its head as a square hood-moulding. The south wall was blank, and so, probably, was that to the east. The basement was 13 feet or 14 feet high, with a flat timber ceiling. There certainly were no mural chambers, and no staircase in it. It was probably entered from above by a trap-door and ladder, and used as a store.

The *first floor*, about 13 feet high, seems to have had loops in plain round-headed recesses in the north, south, and west sides, of which the latter is broken away, and a two-light Tudor window inserted. The northern loop has also been replaced by a similar window. In the south wall the loop is represented by a small square opening. In the ruins of the east side may be traced the remains of a doorway and the base of a lobby and staircase in the wall. It is clear that the external door was in this face, near the south end, and that it opened direct into the first floor, while right and left in the thickness of the wall, was a mural passage, at its south end a mere lobby, but to the north containing a straight staircase which rises thirteen feet by twelve steps, four feet four inches broad, towards the east angle, where was a small lobby which opened on the second floor, and was lighted by a loop in the east wall.

Thus, the *second floor* was entered in its east side by a direct mural stair, like those at Carlisle, at Chepstow, and at Ludlow. In each of the sides, north, south, and west, of this floor is an original round-headed recess, and in the east wall, over the mural stair, are traces of a shorter recess,

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recess, placed higher up, whence seems to have been a passage into a mural chamber in the south-east angle. The southern recess alone contains its original window. This is a small coupled window of two lights, square-headed, but within a round-headed arch. The dividing shaft is decidedly Norman, as is the whole character of the opening. The north window is also coupled and round-headed, but looks like a Stuart insertion. The east and west windows are square-headed, of Tudor date. In the north-west angle is a mural recess with loops, possibly a garderobe, and in the north-east angle a square-headed doorway opens by a lobby into a well-stair, which commences at this level and ascends to the roof. It is 7 feet 6 inches in diameter, and rises 31 feet by forty-six steps to the allure or rampart walk. This second was originally the principal and uppermost floor, lofty, and with a high-pitched roof, the weather moulding of which is still seen on the east and west walls. The roof ridge was at the level of the rampart walk, and, as the north and south walls seem original, there must have been a deep cavity on either side, with the gutter in its bottom. Subsequently this roof was removed, and replaced by a flat roof, at the rampart level, the line of which is marked by a row of corbels in the north and south walls. The cause of this change, common probably to all Norman keeps, was the superior convenience for defence of a flat roof, rendered possible by the introduction of sheet lead as a roofing material.

The *third floor* was formed by dividing the height thus gained by a floor laid at the level of the springing of the old roof, and thus was created a second floor of 10 feet, and a third of 20 feet. In the west wall was opened a square-headed window, in a splayed recess, and close south of it is a small Tudor fireplace, the flue of which ascends into the south-west turret. The east wall is less perfect, but still shows the the line of the old roof and the jamb of a Tudor window. In the north-east angle is the door from the well-stair. The

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The floors of the walls were throughout of timber, the joists of the first and second resting in the holes in the north and south walls of the turrets; that at the south-west is probably modern. It contains the flues of several fire-places which appear to have been inserted in the south wall, but which have fallen out. The keep probably had originally no mural fireplaces. The north-east turret contains the head of the well-stair. The other two turrets seem to have been mere shells, having only the two outer walls. They all rose about 12 feet above the rampart walk, and 5 feet or 6 feet above the crest of the parapet on the outside of the east and south walls of the keep. Near the top are ranges of triangular holes formed by thin tile-stones set on edge, and looking much like pigeon-holes. The row in the south wall has five holes, and in the south-east turret are three. In the east wall are two sets, one of three holes, and one, imperfect, of two. There is one hole in the north-east turret. They are evidently original and do not appear to communicate with the interior. There is no trace of a regular fore-building, for which the keep, like Goderich, was too small, but there was probably an open stair either of wood or stone ascending to the main door, which was about 12 feet from the ground. The exterior of the keep was quite plain, and of rather rude workmanship. The pilasters are of square stones, and the wall, in part of similar material, and in part of stones of irregular shape, laid as uncoursed rubble. There is no herring-bone work, and no visible trace of Roman material worked up.

The keep is evidently late Norman, and the walls are original, though much pulled about, and with many insertions of the Tudor and Stuart days. This is another example of the high-pitched roof, as at Richmond and Bridgnorth, the whole roof having having been concealed by the walls.

Probably the founder of the castle built both the keep and the curtain wall on the lines of the present curtain, and

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and cut the cross ditch which isolates it from the rest of the Roman camp. The gatehouse and hall and the south-east tower were probably alterations and additions of the Decorated period. The whole fortress was repaired by Countess Anne, whose hand may be traced throughout the structure. The keep has been split with gunpowder, probably by order of the Parliament, producing fissures in its north and south walls.

Robert de Veteriponte or Vipont, the head of a great Westmoreland family, to which the armorial bearings of the Musgraves and Lowthers, the Blenkinsops and Hellbecks, show them to have paid early allegiance, is regarded as the founder of the castles of Brougham and Brough, at any rate in their Norman form. His immediate ancestor came over with Duke William of Normandy, and the family first planted themselves in the counties of Devon, Northampton, and York. Robert, the second or third in descent, flourished in the reigns of Henry II., Richard, John, and Henry III., dying in 1228, the twelfth of the latter sovereign. He filled many posts of military trust, was custos of many castles, and sheriff of many midland and northern counties. He was also a justice itinerant, and of the Common Pleas. In 1203 (4th John) he had a grant from the king of the Bailliewick of Westmoreland and the castles of Appleby and Burg, at first during pleasure, but afterwards in fee. Possibly the grant was connected with the fact that his mother, Maud, was a member of the great Westmoreland family of Morville, and probably a daughter of Hugh de Morville, one of Becket's assassins. Robert's wife, Idonea de Buisli, was heiress of the castle and Honour of Tickhill. He was a man of very great wealth and power, and likely to have taken steps to secure his Westmoreland barony against its northern neighbours. The grant mentions the castles of Appleby and Burgh; and Burgh, that is Brough, was sacked by William of Scotland in 1174. Probably, therefore, there already existed some kind of strongholds at

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at those places, founded it may be by the English on the Roman stations. Moreover, the year 1204 is very late indeed for keeps of so decided a Norman type, and it is no doubt possible that De Meschines or De Morville, the preceding lords of the fee, may have built both castles, but on the whole the evidence is rather in favour of Lord Robert as the founder, or at any rate the builder of the oldest parts now to be seen.

John de Vipont, son and successor, died 25 Henry III., in debt to the king, who gave his estates in ward to the Prior of Carlisle, who neglected the castles. In his time the keep of Brough was out of repair, and the joists rotten. Lord John sided with the barons, and died of wounds received at Lewes. His daughter, and finally sole heiress, Isabel, was married to Roger de Clifford,—the Roger of the inscription over the gate of Brougham,—and who was killed in battle in Anglesea by the Welsh, in the reign of Edward I. Robert de Clifford, their son, lord of the Honour of Skipton, of Appleby, Brougham, and Brough, fell at Bannockburn. There were then two parks at Brough, a mill, and the demesne land. The castle ditches let for the herbage at 6s. 8d. per annum, and the constable had 40s.

Roger, the next lord, was a great builder; he followed the fortunes and shared the fate of Thomas of Lancaster. He is thought to have made the additions to the eastern side of Brougham, where his arms and those of his wife, Maud Beauchamp, were long to be seen. His successor was his brother Robert, whose second and surviving son Roger, proved age 28th Edward III., recovered the family estates which had been forfeited, and kept his castles in repair. He died, 15th Richard II., seized of Appleby, Burgham, and Burgh. The four following Lords fell in battle: Thomas in Germany, John in France, Thomas at St. Alban's, and John at Towton. In the 4th Henry V., the Castle of Brougham lay waste, and the whole profits of the

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the demesne were not sufficient to repair and maintain it. The next, Henry, was the Shepherd Lord, who in 1519 held a great feast at Brough, at Christmas, which was followed in 1521 by a severe fire, in which the castle was burned to the bare walls, and long remained waste. The succeeding lord and his son, both Henry, were the first and second Earls of Cumberland, of whom the latter died at Brougham Castle about 1560. George, the third earl, the admiral, who died 1605, was born at Brough in the last year of Queen Mary, 1558. With his brother Frances, the fourth earl, who entertained King James at Brougham for three days in 1617, the male line failed, and the estates and baronies came to Countess Anne, the daughter of Earl George. This lady, who repaired Brougham and Brough in 1651-2, was born at Brougham in 1589, in the same room in which her father was born, her mother died, and King James was received. Margaret, her daughter, by the Earl of Dorset, carried the estates to the Tuftons, earls of Thanet, who also inherited the hereditary shrievalty of Westmoreland, until their extinction in the present century. They dismantled Brougham and Brough, and sold the fittings in 1714. The present owner appears to be very attentive to what remains of the two castles. Both are repaired in a very substantial manner.

On the conclusion of the reading of the paper, a short discussion followed, in which Dr. Simpson urged very strongly the view that the keep of Brough was built by the Morville family in the reign of King Stephen, before their estates had been forfeited, a theory which would throw back the date half a century earlier than the time assigned to Robert de Vipont. It is hoped that Dr. Simpson will shortly communicate his views to the Society in the form of a paper.

The Society is indebted to the Editors of the *Builder* for the loan of the wood blocks of Brougham and Brough Castles.

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ART. III.—*On the Mediæval Defences of the English Border.* By G. T. CLARK, Esq., F.S.A.

Read at Egremont, August 31st, 1881.

THE tract of land between the Tweed and the Tyne, and that west of the Eden to the Eamont, including the English counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and part of Westmoreland, were for centuries the scene of obstinate and bloody conflict. How strong was the resistance to the Roman Legions, and how great their apprehension of its renewal, is shewn by the strength and extent of those grand lines of defence, which stretched from sea to sea, and still, after centuries of decay and destruction, command the admiration of the beholder. Nor, in the centuries that followed upon the retirement of the Legions, though other races occupied the soil, was the contest laid aside, but, down to the fifteenth and even in the sixteenth century was continued with unabated ferocity.

With the appearance of the Normans late in the eleventh century was revived the Roman practice of constructing defensive works in masonry, of the earlier of which some few remain, and to the same period may be attributed several of the towers of the more exposed parish churches, the excessive solidity of which has led to their preservation. The lesser Castles, Towers, and Peels, being constructed for the defence of private estates, and by private, though often very important persons, followed closely upon the larger fortresses, but, partly from their smaller dimensions and partly from the vicissitudes of the families to whom they belonged, very few of the earlier examples remain, and the greater number, whatever may be their original date, present little that can be referred to the thirteenth or even the fourteenth century. In fact, following the subdivision

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division of landed property, and in consequence of the wealth acquired in foreign wars by the practice of putting the richer captives to ransom, very many of the Towers and Peels were only founded in the fifteenth century. The fortified Halls and Houses belong, mostly, to a still later period, and are placed, generally, at some distance from the more dangerous districts. They are especially numerous in South Cumberland, and along the Eamont and the Lowther, and although defence was not forgotten in their construction, it was made subservient to comfort and convenience.

Going back to the centuries preceding and following the Norman Conquest we fall upon a time when the limits of the two kingdoms were as yet unsettled, and a cause of frequent wars in which each party considered itself to be asserting its right. Further on, although there was no lack of transgression from either side into the territories of the other, it was acknowledged that they were transgressions, and that there existed a settlement to which either party could appeal when the breach of the peace was of sufficient importance to bring about the interference of the Lords Marchers or their governments.

Early in the tenth century, when the relations between Edward the Elder and his northern neighbours became a matter of history, the Border land was divided between three peoples, differing in tongue and origin. The Irish Scots of that day, a Gaelic race, dwelt north of the Forth and the Clyde, beyond the old wall of Agricola. South and west of this line, the British kingdom of Strathclyde extended from the Clyde to the Solway, and thence to the Bay of Lancaster, and thus included the later Cumberland. South and east of the Forth lay the Danish or English speaking district of Lothian, attached to England by Athelstan, and ruled by the Lord of Northumberland as a part of his earldom. It was probably the existence of this strong English element that had already induced the Scots

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Scots and Strathclyde Britons to place themselves under the protection of the English King, and thus to lay the foundation for the claims of Edward the First three centuries later.

In 945 the English Edmund conquered Strathclyde from the Britons and granted or regranted it to the Scottish Malcolm to be held as an English fief. A little later, A.D. 1000, Ethelred found the southern part of Strathclyde, that is Cumberland, mostly peopled by Danes, whose language indeed enters largely into the present topography. Early in the eleventh century the Scots made a raid into Durham and forced Earl of Waltheof to take refuge in Bamborough. Uchtred, his son, drove back the invaders, but Malcolm continued to hold Lothian and Berwickshire with a part of Teviotdale, an acquisition soon after sanctioned by Canute, on the condition of the lands being held of the English Crown. Thus it was that at the Conquest the Scots held, on some terms or other, Cumberland and a strip of Westmoreland, on the west, and Lothian on the east, an extent of frontier very favourable for attacks upon the northern counties of England, and of which they were not backward to avail themselves.

In 1070, on the retirement of William from his wasting expedition into Yorkshire and Durham, the Scots entered England from Cumberland, laid waste Teesdale and Cleveland, at Wearmouth received the exiled Edgar and his sisters, and traversed the Bishopric and Northumberland, while Earl Gospatric, issuing from Bamborough, reversed the in-road, and laid waste Cumberland. This campaign provoked the memorable invasion of Scotland by the Conqueror in 1073, who penetrated to Abernethy on the Tay, received there the homage of Malcolm, and returned by the east coast to Monkchester, known soon afterwards by the New Castle attributed to Robert Curthose, at the command of his father. Thence he came to Durham and ordered the construction or reconstruction of its castle. He also took possession

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possession of Carlisleshire as Cumberland was then sometimes called, and placed it under the care of the Earl of Chester, compensating Malcolm with the country between Stainmore and the Tweed, and a sum of money.

In 1091 the Scots entered the Bishopric on the eastern side, but were beat back by Rufus, who constituted Cumberland an English earldom, peopling it with emigrants from the south, built the castle, and restored the town of Carlisle which had lain waste ever since its destruction by the Danes in the seventh century. Malcolm Ceanmore retaliated two years later, but was slain before Alnwick Castle. Henry the First pursued his brother's policy, strengthened Carlisle, and erected it into an episcopal See, attached to the Northern Province.

On Stephen's accession David of Scotland took advantage of his weakness to enter England. He took Carlisle. Appleby, and all the northern castles except Bamborough, and laid siege to Durham. David, who had married Earl Waltheof's heiress, claimed his earldoms. Northumberland was refused to him, but Stephen allowed him the richer but less dangerous Earldom of Huntingdon. The Northumbrian castles were restored, but Stephen committed the grave error of allowing David to retain Carlisle. The consequence was a second invasion in the following year and the demand of Northumberland. Then followed the battle of the Standard, after which, notwithstanding the English victory, the hard beset Stephen allowed to the Scots the lands between Tyne and Tweed, the fortresses of Bamborough and Newcastle alone excepted.

Henry the Second repaired much of the mischief perpetrated by Stephen, and in 1157 regained Northumberland, and Cumberland south of the Solway. He also subsequently granted the Earldom of Huntingdon to William the Lion, who, in Henry's presence, re-granted it to his own son. William, however, in 1173, invaded England, in alliance with the rebel Earl of Leicester, and again

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again in 1174, when he took Burgh, Liddell, and Appleby, and some other castles, and penetrated to the Humber. He failed, however, to take Carlisle, and was himself taken prisoner before Alnwick.

Richard the First, wanting money for his crusade and very careless of English interests, sold his Scottish rights, giving up Carlisle, which, however, was recovered by John, but it was not till the reign of Henry the Third that Carlisle and Cumberland were fairly made a part of England, the Scottish claims being waived by Alexander in 1237, in consideration of the Manors of Penrith, Scotby, Langwathby, Carleton, and Sowerby, with Tynedale, to be holden of the English Crown, the last with "jura regalia" and local rights of sovereignty. An attempt was also made to settle the border line between the two kingdoms. This was not at that time successful, but the disagreement between the commissioners was not very considerable, and it is clear that the proposed lines did not differ very much from those afterwards adopted and still maintained.

This understanding, and the final adoption of Cumberland as an unchallenged English county, did not indeed put an end to the invasions from the north, but it gave them more of a local character, and led to a complete extinction of the Scottish claims. In 1293, upon an in-road by Edward Baliol, Edward the First seized upon Penrith and the other manors, which were never afterwards restored. The attack upon Carlisle was repeated in 1296 and extended to Cockermouth, and in the following century, both before and after Bannockburn, Robert and Edward Bruce crossed the border, and in 1314, during the general depression, burned Kirkoswald Castle on the Eden, and penetrated to Richmond. During the whole of this century and for some time longer, England's weakness continued to be Scotland's opportunity, and the country was occasionally ravaged, even as far as Penrith. Carlisle Castle, though never taken, was often threatened, nor did men cease to fortify their

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their dwellings with moats, towers, and battlements, until the Scottish power was broken at Flodden, and the accession of James the First to the throne of Elizabeth converted, though slowly and unwillingly, the Elliots and Armstrongs, Scotts and Kerrs, from reivers and cattle lifters into peaceable subjects and friends.

The natural lines of defence between England and its northern neigbours were chiefly the Tweed, the Wansbeck, and the north Tyne, on the eastern side, and behind them the main Tyne and the Eden, extending from sea to sea. About the head waters of these streams, near the centre of the country, the Cheviot range of hills presented a formidable barrier to the north of the Tyne, and the lofty fells about Alston and Stanhope one still more formidable to its south. The deep ravine and the rapid stream of the lower Tyne rendered the passage into the Bishopric hazardous and indeed fatal, should a retreat become a flight.

West of the high ground, the valley of the upper Eden afforded naturally an easy way into Westmoreland and north Yorkshire, and the possession of Carlisle gave the Scots a partially parallel passage along the old Roman road to Penrith, whence the valley of the Eamont lay convenient for a flank march, joining the Eden valley at its widest and least secure part, and thus laying open the heart of Westmoreland.

It will be seen from the following condensed and, as regards the inferior strengths, imperfect lists, how numerous throughout the Border Counties were the castles, peels, towers, and fortified halls, and that it was the former only, and those of them of the chief magnitude, that were posted on the main passes and rivers, that is to say were intended for the general defence of the frontier.

The most northern fortress of England, placed not behind but beyond the Tweed, between a fold of that river and its junction with the sea, was the Castle, and dependent upon it the fortified town of Berwick, a strong place, and for

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for a long time within the Scottish border. In later times it became the English bulwark, was walled and moated by Edward the First, and underwent more than ever the usual share of the extremities of border warfare. The fragment of the castle is now traversed by the railway, and within the walls of Edward has been constructed a citadel of the Vauban type, now almost equally obsolete.

On the south of the Tweed, between that river and the Tyne and Eden, a breadth of about seventy miles, are placed five fortresses of the first class, Norham and Bamburgh on the north, Newcastle and Carlisle on the south, and Alnwick in the centre. All are of Norman construction, four of the five have rectangular keeps, and the shell keep of Alnwick, though rebuilt, retains its ancient Norman entrance. Norham, built on the elevated bank of the Tweed above the Saxon Ubbanford, was the work of Bishops Flambard and Puiset. It is a superb structure even in its present ruined condition. It stands on the verge of a Roman camp and is defended, landward, by the Roman lines. Bamborough is the only absolutely impregnable fortress of the north, and rivals even Dunedin in position and appearance. It covers the table summit of a rock of basalt, 140 feet above the adjacent sea level. It was founded by the Flame-bearing Ida, was the seat of the early Kings and Earls of Northumbria, and was finally held by the Mowbrays, the most turbulent of the border lords. The keep, a magnificent structure, is still inhabited, and contains a well sunk in the hard rock to the level of the sea. Windsor itself cannot boast a greater history nor a grander position.

Of Newcastle, attributed to Curthose in 1080, there remains a very perfect keep, not indeed of the first class in point of size, but of excessive strength, and unusually complete in the appendages of such buildings, possessing a forebuilding, chapel, well chamber, and mural cells and galleries. It stands high above the Tyne and within the walled

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walled circuit of the town. No invader could hope to take it, and an invasion with the new castle in its rear was hazardous. Newcastle may be said to mark one end of the Roman wall, and near to the other was Carlisle.

The position of Carlisle is very remarkable. No inhabitants of the border could have neglected to occupy it. A bold promontory of rock juts out defiantly towards the north, having at its foot the deep and rapid Eden. It was for centuries the central point of the Strathclyde kingdom, and, fortified as we now see it, it was for other centuries the gate of England on the western side.

Alnwick, the central fortress of the border, derives its name from the Aln which forms its northern defence, and the moated knoll which gives figure to its keep was probably occupied in the eighth or ninth century. The Tysons and de Vescis were among its earlier Norman lords; Malcolm Caenmore was slain before it in 1093. Eustace Fitz John, who married the de Vesci heiress, probably built the keep before which William the Lion was taken prisoner in 1174. It was not, however, till above a century and a quarter afterwards that this castle became the chief seat of that branch of the House of Louvain with which, under the name of Percy, its glories are mainly identified.

It is difficult to number the lesser castles or the peels. The house of every man, even of moderate estate, was literally his castle; and very many have long been levelled and are forgotten, or are only incidentally mentioned in the scanty local records. It has been much the custom to include the old towers in the modern houses, so that nothing of them is visible, and their presence is only revealed by the exceptional thickness of their walls, as shewn on a plan. Thus, at the old Senhouse seat of Netherhall, the peel occupies the centre of the present house, and is used as either cellar or strong room; so also at Dovenby and Irton. At Woodside, near Carlisle, the peel was only discovered

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covered when Mr. Arlosh and the house planned with a view to alterations. It has been truly said, scratch a Cumberland or Westmorland squire's house and you find a peel. Of the lesser castles, on the Tweed were Twisell, Heaton, Cornhill, and Werk. Behind them were Etal, Ford, and Coupland; and at various not distant points the towers and peels of Tweedmouth, Goswick, Cheswick, Scremeston, Thornton, Felkington, Berrington, Grindon, Tillmouth, Newbigging, Duddon, Ancroft, Fenwick, Kyloe, Elwick, Buckton, Fenham; and in the Farne Islands the castle of Holy Island. Nearer to Alnwick, and along the waters tributary to the Aln and the Coquet, were the castles of Dunstanborough, a pile of much grandeur upon the sea coast, Harbottle a rather celebrated Umfraville castle on the upper Coquet, Elsdon, with its adjacent mote hill near the field of Otterbourne, Cartington, Edlingham, on the sea coast Warkworth, Esbott, and Hirst, while along the Coquet are the Ogle castle of Bothal, that of Morpeth, and Mitford, a very ancient structure remarkable for its secluded position and the peculiarity of its Norman keep. In these districts also are or were to be found the peels of Heiferlaw, Newton, Hepburn, Lilburn, Tosson Tower near Rothbury, Low Clibburn, Cresswell, Cockle Tower, Nether-Whitton, Crag, Branshaw, and Barrow near Harbottle. There are also the three peels near Highshaw, Whitlees, Cleugh-brae near the Roman Rochester, two peels on the Tarse Burn, and one at Yarrow on the skirts of Cheviot.

The tract between the Coquet and the Tyne, traversed by the Roman wall, in parts tolerably fertile and more thickly inhabited, was also studded over with strong places. Here were the castles of Horton, Ogle, Ponteland, Belsay, Tarset, and Dalby on the north; Birtley, Chipchase, Haughton, Hemmell, and Simonsburn, about the North Tyne. Further south are Aydon and Halton, and the peels of Shortflatt, Bitchfield, Capheaton, Wallington, Littleharle, Burraden, Swinburne, and Hole Peel. Upon the main stream

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stream of the Tyne was Prudhoe with its Norman keep, the chief seat of the Umfravilles, and higher up the towers of Bywell, Corbridge, Dilston, Hexham, Langley, Thornton, and Staward Peel; and about Haltwistle, Bellister, Featherstone, Blenkinsop, and Thirwall castles. Hereabouts the waters begin to flow to the west, and upon the Irthing, and other tributaries of the Eden, are the famous castle of Naworth the abode of Belted Will, Walton, Scaleby, a treble-moated and very perfect castle of the Tilliols, Netherby, Shank, Brackenhill and Kirklinton on the Line, Triermain, a castle of the Barons Vaux, Askerton, Braes, Crew, St. Cuthberts, Bewcastle placed within the Roman station, Kirkandrews on Esk, Liddel Strength, at the junction of Esk and Liddell; Nether-Denton with its tower and moated mound, Stapelton, Bonshaw, Crumlogan, and Stonehouse upon the Liddell. Nearer to Carlisle were Irthington and Bleatarn with their moated mounds, Linstock and Drawdykes, all four close to the Roman wall, and to its south Woodside peel and Newbiggin tower attached to the Priory. A little east of the city were Warwick and Corby castles, while westwards Rockcliffe and Drumburgh castles guarded the estuary of the Eden, and upon the Caldew the Episcopal seat of Rose Castle, a place of some strength.

Cumberland was so long in Scottish occupation that it contains but few examples of military Norman masonry, though many strong places, some of which upon the lower Eden have already been mentioned. South of that river and the estuary of the Solway is Burgh-upon-Sands, the death place of the great Edward, celebrated locally for its military church tower and for a castle taken by the Scots in 1174 and 1253. Newton Arlosh also boasts a strong church tower, and at Wulsty near Silloth was a small castle; the moated mound of Down Hall, Aikton, was a seat of the Morvilles, and the Upper Hall or Vicarage has also a moat. Brackenrigg, near Bowness-on-Solway, was a place of

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of strength. But the principal castles of Cumberland, south of Carlisle, were Cockermouth and Egremont. Cockermouth was founded probably by the Saxon lords of Allerdale, whose earlier seat is thought to have been within the Roman work at Papcastle, but it is better known as the castle of the Barons Lucy. The Toothill, at no great distance, is probably the seat of its early jurisdiction. Egremont is attributed to Meschines, Earl of Chester, early in the 12th century; but its lofty mound is probably of much earlier date. Of lesser strongholds were St. Andrews, and the towers and houses of Highhead, Castle Hill in Sowerby, Hayton, Hayes, Millom, Drumburgh, Hutton-in-the-Forest, Catterlen, Blencowe, Castle Howe in Ennerdale, Castle Rigg, Dalston Hall, Dacre, Dovenby, Greystoke, Harlybrow, Hardrigg, Hewthwaite, Hutton John, Isell, Irton, Lamplugh, Lees Gill, Muncaster, Netherhall, West Newton, Haltcliffe, Wraysholm, and Unerigg. Torpenhow on the Ellen seems to have been fortified, as was probably the Mote of Aldingham, a mound by the sea shore, 96 feet high, thought, upon very doubtful authority, to have been originally sepulchral. Barton Kirkhall in Patterdale, and Hartsop Hall, were also strong houses.

In that part of Cumberland, intersected by the Eden, there are, above Corby, the castles of Armathwaite, Castle Carrock, Dunwalloght, and Kirk-Oswald, with a dependent castellet five miles to the east, on the Ravensbeck, among the Geltsdale Fells, which here rise to a height of 2,000 feet. Higher up the Eden is Great Salkeld, with its fortified church.

On the Eamont and the Lowther are several strong places. On the Cumberland bank of the Eamont are Penrith, a castle of the time of Richard the Second, Carleton Hall, and the old house of Edenhall. On the Westmorland bank are the Halls of Sockbridge, Yanwath, Brougham, Clifton, and Askham, and the castle and Norman keep of Brougham, a stronghold of the Viponts and

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and Cliffords, and one of the great military centres of the district, Appleby and Brough being the others. These three castles, each with a rectangular Norman keep, were the guards of the valley of the Eden above the junction of the Eamont, and below the union of the two roads from Carlisle into Yorkshire. At various points in the open valley were the castellets of Howgill, Bewly, Hartly, Waitby, Lammerside, and Pendragon, with the halls of Wharton and Crosby Ravensworth. The lateral opening eastward towards the Bishopric was guarded by the keep of Bowes and the strong post of Barnard Castle on the Tees.

The western division of Westmorland, forming the Barony of Kendal, was far less exposed to the Scottish in-roads. Here were Kendal Castle with Castle Howe, the seat of an earlier defence, and another Castle Howe at Low Scales in Bretherdale, and in the south the towers of Dallam and Hazelsbeck. At various points, shewing the general insecurity of the district, were the towers of Wraysholm, Arnside on Ullswater, Godmond near Kendal, Greencastle, Halscal, Peele, and Whelp. The district, though removed from the border, and out of the line of the principal invasions, was still liable to be over-run by the stragglers from a force advancing by the road from Carlisle towards Penrith.

The *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Society contain already many valuable papers upon the more remarkable and more perfect of these strong places: it is to be hoped that the industry of its members will continue to be directed in this direction, so that in time the materials may be collected for a complete and accurate history of the ancient military defences of the border.

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ART. IV.—*Traditional Names of Places in Edenside.* By J. G. GOODCHILD, H.M. Geological Survey.

Read at Penrith, January, 1881.

THE following List of Traditional Names of Places in Edenside represents part of a collection of notes gathered in the course of nearly fourteen years work on the Government Geological Survey of Cumberland and Westmorland north of the Lake District Watershed.

The detailed character of the investigations now carried on by the Geological Survey obliges its officers to stay weeks, or months, at a time in the most out-of-the-way parts of the country, and they have, therefore, abundant opportunities of hearing the most archaic forms of speech yet lingering in the district. In common with many others, I have long felt that something ought to be done towards preserving as much of this folk-speech as is left at the present day, and I have therefore carefully recorded every dialect utterance it has been my good fortune to hear—generally there and then so as to be sure of it. Amongst these notes on our dialects I have long given a prominent place to facts bearing upon the subject of the present communication, under the firm conviction that they will one day afford the philologist valuable material for reconstructing the languages used here by the peoples of old, and that they will not be less valuable to the archæologist, on account of the light that such a collection of facts will throw upon some of the most obscure periods of the early history of the districts represented in the list.

There are not a few that will be inclined to underrate the value of any evidence of this kind; but the work done of late by the English Dialect Society; by such writers as Dr. A. H. Murray, and most of all by Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S.,

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F.R.S., and his fellow-workers, has resulted in establishing a firm conviction in the minds of philologists that it is unsafe to regard any one of our dialect forms of speech as forms of good English gone bad. While there can be no doubt in some cases about the existence of a certain amount of modification of the original forms of the words since they first came into use here, in other cases there is a strong presumption, and in a few cases there is absolute proof, that these local forms of speech represent the original words, while the equivalent literary forms are themselves mere corruptions.

The researches of philologists have made it also not less clear that it is unsafe to hazard any opinion upon the etymology of these place-names. Within the hydrographical basin of the Eden, or what, for convenience sake, it would be well to call by the name EDENSIDE, we have evidence that there has been in use—(1) an unknown form of Iberian speech; the form, or forms, of Celtic current in the old kingdom of Strathclyde, also practically unknown; the various dialects of the Angles, which were probably as diverse in their day as are the dialects of the parts the Angles came from diverse at the present day; there have been unknown forms and dialects of a more decidedly Scandinavian character; and lastly, superposed upon the foundation formed by these diverse elements we have had introduced forms of the literary English of every period from the earliest times down to the present day. Under these circumstances it becomes difficult for any man to decide, in the present state of philological knowledge, what words are corruptions of words of known meaning or of known derivation, and what are veritable relics of former speech now all but lost. I am not so sanguine as to believe that the view that the traditional names of places are the original forms and their literary forms their corruptions will meet with general acceptance; but I would ask them that hold the opposite view, and would raise their

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their voice against this theory, to first make a careful study of our old Northern English literature, and to make themselves masters of what Dr. Murray, Professor Skeat, and Mr. A. J. Ellis and his fellow-workers have been labouring to teach us of late. Without these indispensible preliminaries the consultation of whole libraries of dictionaries and grammars is of no avail.

Acting on this principle I have thought it best to lay before the Society simply a collection of facts, just as they were received from the dialect-speakers themselves. The plan I have adopted is to place on record the pronunciation of every place-name where this differs in any way from its literary form as expressed on the Ordnance Maps, to record all names not on the maps that are likely to be of interest, and to work in names of places that are spelled with approximate correctness, when these names serve the purpose of shewing that a particular termination exists in various names throughout the length and breadth of Edenside.

A large proportion of the names in the list is from my own note-book, but I have gladly availed myself of the aid of others. Amongst these are the late talented Mrs. Atkinson of Winderwath, who collected many words with a view to bringing out a list jointly with myself; Miss Powley, of Langanby; Mr. J. Bainbridge, Mrs. Graham, and Mr. Wm. Birket, of Penrith; Mr. Dover, of Woodfoot; Mr. John Robinson, of Milburn; and lastly, Mr. William Atkinson, of the Science Schools, South Kensington, who has placed his knowledge of this subject entirely at my disposal. Other helpers, too numerous to particularise, have taken more or less interest in the subject.

A few years ago it would have been impossible to record the true pronunciation of these place-names in anything like a form that would enable a stranger to reproduce them, owing to the defective and unscientific means available for the purpose. Some idea of the difficulty may be formed when

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when it is stated that the Edenside list alone requires sixty distinct speech elements to give it expression. These are seventeen simple vowels, twelve "pairs" of vowels, thirty simple consonants, and two "pairs" of the same. To place these sixty speech elements on record we had, taking the received English values of our letters, only twenty symbols available.

Now, however, Mr. Ellis has supplied us with his Palæotype, and all that have employed it, as I have, for many years, will bear witness with me to its practical utility and its wonderful adaptability to purposes like this.

Palæotype is so called because, unlike nearly all other systems that have been devised, it represents the various shades of sound by ordinary printers' type. Both Roman and Italic letters are made use of, and the number of symbols is further augmented by using capitals, small capitals, turned letters, various digraphs, and the various numerals and punctuation marks. Each symbol has one invariable value in whatsoever relation it may stand to the symbols adjoining, and this value is defined by references to well-known words in either English or else well-known foreign languages where the sound occurs. Marvellously fine shades of sound can be thus represented, and some idea of the variety of sounds capable of being put into print and thence reproduced by strangers to the original sound, may be gathered from the fact that the vowel sounds provided for alone number many thousands, and the consonants are cared for equally well.

A key to the notation used is given below, and it is confidently believed that this key, if properly mastered, will enable even a stranger to reproduce the precise shade of each sound with accuracy years after every vestige of the old dialects has gone, and even when men shall have studied Philology as other sciences are studied, and when they know enough about our past history and our older forms of speech to be able to decide with accuracy upon the derivation of the names themselves. The

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The list is arranged simply according to phonetic principles; and I have left it to others to re-arrange the words according to any other principle when the time for doing so shall arrive.

EXPLANATION OF PALÆOTYPE.

The words given in Palæotype are enclosed within parentheses. Each symbol must be invariably read with the exact value assigned to it in the accompanying key. R, especially, must be carefully sounded with the "buzz" produced by placing the tongue in the prescribed position, and must on no account be omitted where written, nor must it modify the sound of any foregoing vowel, as it does in received English.

The accent is always on the first syllable when not otherwise indicated; where it occurs in any other position a turned period follows the accented syllable.

Length is indicated by doubling the symbol; but it should be observed that the longest vowels used in Edenside are somewhat shorter than they are in received English, and they would be more correctly represented by Mr. Ellis' sign for medial length, thus—(aˢ) than by the doubled letters that denote the duration usually given them by educated speakers.

By carefully acquiring the exact continental values of the elements given below, and practising the utterance of them in new combinations, the reading of the place-names recorded here may be acquired with sufficient accuracy to pass muster amongst natives, even by a person that has never heard the Edenside dialect spoken.

SHORT KEY TO PALÆOTYPE.

Vowels.

(a) (aa) Nearly as in the received English vowels in "Papa asked Grant to pass half the staff to aunt"; but the tongue is somewhat more advanced, as it is in the true Italian (ˌa).

Edenside examples: Short—lass, glass, pass, castle, what, water, father. Long—Farm, cart, harvest, garden, dark.

(æ) General continental so-called "short aa." Quite distinct from the short sound of the last, but often confounded with it. Frequently

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Frequently heard as (ə)—the sound in "one such ugly cut's enough to dull one's courage"—by people from the south.

Edenside examples: Man, cat, bag, pan, Annie, Maggie, &c. C.F. "lassie-lad," "brass pan," "laugh at," "he sang a song."

(AA) English vowel in "All Paul's daughters ought to talk small"; but shorter in quantity, and more like the Italian *o aperto*.

Edenside examples: Calf, halfpenny, fall, wall, talk, hall, &c.

(EE) Italian *e aperto*, and Scotch and general continental short e.

Edenside examples: Hare, pair, Mary, day, hay, gay.

(e) Received southern English short e in "seven times eleven are seventy-seven, eleven times seven are seventy-seven seven into seventy-seven eleven, eleven into seventy-seven seven."

Edenside examples: Bed, set, men, step, egg, &c.

It is as well to realise the difference between this and the last because, in the only scientific description of Edenside speech yet given, this vowel is said to be represented by the one last described (EE).

(*e*) True Italian *e chiuso* and "general" Scotch and continental sound of "long ā."

Edenside examples occur only in the pairs of confluent vowels described below.

(*i*) Received English in "In this little village lived Kittie's sister Minnie."

The Edenside vowel is formed with the tongue nearer the palate than is usual in the south of England: with us the sound is nearer the short sound of (ii) as it is in North Germany, &c.

Edenside examples: Bit, lig, in, kittle, big, get, &c.

(i, ii) English vowel in "See me lead these three sweetly bleating sheep."

Edenside examples are rare, if known at all, the sound being represented by the pairs (*ei*^{1}) ($\underset{1}{i}$ *i*^{1}) below.

(*y*) By this symbol I propose to denote a peculiar vowel common in north-western England. It sounds between the Scotch vowel

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vowel in "him, pit, still, milk," &c., and the unaccented vowel used in received English in "idea, canary, America, motion, conscience," &c. (ɐ)
Dr. Murray considers that it is allied to the Scotch vowel in guid, buik, schuin, guis, &c.; and it does sometimes remind me of that too.

Edenside examples, heard from old people: Rest, dress, rent, prince, friend, rich, rut, brick, yes, yesterday, &c.

(o. oo) Short, and long, of the general Continental short ŏ. Identical with the Italian *o aperto*. It lies between English short ŏ in "not" and true long ō in "note."

Edenside examples: Short—off, Tom, bob, clog, for, short, George: Long—no, show, grow, low.

(o) Italian *o chiuso*. General Scotch and Continental long ō. Differs from the corresponding vowel in received English in being uttered with the tongue in one position, instead of beginning with the tongue lower and ending with it higher than this position, as is usual in ordinary English utterance.

This vowel occurs only in one of the pairs referred to below, where it is uttered with the tongue somewhat nearer the palate than usual, so as to approximate to what Ellis means by (*u*h).

(o¹) This is the vowel that, in the North of England, usually replaces the peculiar (ə) heard in received English in "some one's husband, son, or brother comes up once a month to hunt," which vowel is too frequently confounded with the (ɐ) in *canary*, *idea*, &c., referred to lower down. Our Edenside vowel is nearly the same as the received English vowel in *foot*, *good*, *bull*, &c., but it is formed with the tongue more obliquely retracted from the palate.

Edenside examples: Tub, come, love, son sun, &c., purse, murder, &c.

(*u*) Received English short o͝o͝ in foot, good, book, bull, stood, &c.

Edenside examples: Good, bull, food, shoot, butcher, &c.

(uu) Italian and general continental o͞o͞; but it is never used pure in Edenside except in the confluents (iuu), as in new, few, fruit, &c. See under (o¹u) below.

(ɐ) Received English unaccented vowel in the words America, idea, canary, motion, conscious: long, it is the vowel in received

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received English in the "early bird deserves the curly worm." In Edenside this vowel remains pure under strong accent.

Edenside examples: "At dudi"=*that* did I, biscuit, pocket, Saturday, window, barrow, pillow, &c., and in a host of other words.

It is worthy of remark that this—one of the very commonest speech sounds in received English, has never been provided with a distinct symbol in any pronouncing dictionary yet issued. Everybody uses it, but it is acknowledged by none. It is one of the most important elements in Edenside speech.

(ɔɔ) In Palæotype the short form of this vowel represents the first three, or four vowels, and the fifth in the deliberate utterance of "*que je me repente*"; and it occurs in many other combinations in French.

Our Edenside equivalent of the English vowel in "the early bird deserves the curly worm" is sufficiently different from the received form to constitute one of the chief difficulties encountered by strangers attempting to speak our dialects. Our vowel lies between (*u*), which see, and (ɔo) or (ʊʊ) the English vowels referred to. The French vowel is nearer to it than any I am practically acquainted with, but there is a shade of difference.

(œ) The last simple vowel is identical, or nearly so, with the German vowel in *König*, *Goethe*, *Wörth*, &c., and, I believe, also with the French vowel sound in *beurre*, *fleur*, *seur*.

In Edenside it occurs in the words swore, form, moor, poor, and a few similar forms. In place-names it used to be common in compounds with the word moor.

Confluent Vowels.

Besides the simple vowels above enumerated, there are several pairs of vowels that occur very commonly together. In received English the representatives of some of these are pronounced "closer" than with us: that is to say that in received English the component sounds of the pair are successively uttered without any perceptible cessation of voice while the vocal organs are undergoing a rapid change of position. A familiar example of this occurs in the utterance of the compound vowel known as long i, as in *wine*, *kind*, *try*, &c. Here the voice commences with the vocal organs in the position for the (a) of *father*, *past*, &c., and continues while the vocal organs change into the position

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position for the (*i*) of *pit*. This Mr. Ellis long ago denominated a "glide." In our northern English compounds there is a clearer utterance of each component, and a partial cessation of voice between the two vowels. Our practice agrees almost exactly with that of the Italians. Mr. Ellis calls these "confluent vowels."

(aa*i*) Identical with German ey, ai, ei, Italian ai, Welsh ai, French aï, &c.

Upper Edenside examples: Wide, bide, bite, mile, pie, fine, tidy.

(e^1 i^1)(i i^1) These pairs represent archaic forms of long ōō. as pronounced all over the north-west of England and in the adjoining parts of Scotland. The voice begins with the tongue retracted obliquely more or less below the normal position for the vowel in pin, fit, with, and goes on to a position somewhat higher, so as almost to reach the position where true (ii) is formed. Great diversity of utterance exists; many people using a sound identical with the Scotch vowel in wife, time, &c., while others constantly use the pair represented in the second symbol, which is so much like true (ii) that the difference passes unnoticed. True (ii) is quite unknown here as a dialect utterance.

Edenside examples: Feet, read, red, leaf, beef, seed, green.

(o^1u) North-western English representative of received English, general Scotch, and Continental "long ōō." It commences with the vocal organs nearly in the position for the Italian *o chiuso* and ends with pure (uu). Great variety exists in the pronunciation of this and the last pairs of vowels. In the wilds, and amongst people remote from the influence of town-life the forms here given are the common ones; but there is every gradation from these into the pure (ii) and (uu) of received English amongst younger folk and town-dwellers.

Edenside examples: Cow, house, mouse, brow, &c.

(o*u*) Italian *o aperto* followed by pure (*u*)

Edenside examples: Pony, hoe, daughter, thought, wrought, cowlrake.

(o*æ*) Italian *o chiuso* followed by Italian "short a," which often passes into the "obscure" vowels (ɐ) and (ə)

Edenside examples as in coal, foal, notice, George, John, Joseph, hole, coat, road, &c.

(e^1*æ*)

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(e¹æ) Italian *e chiuso*, followed by a more or less distinctly pronounced Italian "short a."

The (e) graduates into (i) in some mouths, and the (æ) into "obscure" vowels more or less allied to (ə) and to (ɐ).

Edenside examples: Stable, cake, toad, gate, soap, name, grave.

(i¹y) Used in a few names; and also in such words as nea, sea, tea, wea,=no, so, toe, woe. [W.A.]

(iu) Short i in fit, pin, lip, jig, &c., followed by a more or less distinctly pronounced short ōō as in foot, good, bull, &c. Many speakers seem unable to pronounce this quite distinctly; but most of the older people agree in doing so.

Edenside examples: Foot, school, look, book, spoon, smoke, crook.

CONSONANTS.

(b) As in bad, ebb, baby.

(p) ,, pop, lip, pip, happy.

(d) ,, dad, dead, clod, head.

(t) ,, tit, eat, top, tail.

(ˌd) Dental d; general continental d, uttered with the tongue near the back of the upper incisor teeth.

(ˌt) Dental t; general continental t, uttered with the tongue near the back of the upper incisor teeth.

(dh) Received English as in then, those, there, this, breathe.

(th) ,, ,, ,, thin, thick, thief, throw, breath.

(dj) ,, ,, ,, edge, judge, Jew, James, jam.

(tj) ,, ,, ,, etch, clutch, chew, chain, watch.

Where dj tj occur before a vowel the d, or the t is doubled thus—(eddjiz) = edges, (mættjiz) =matches, and the first of the doubled consonants is held just as it is in Italian pronunciation.

(v) Received value in vain, eve, ever, very, twelve.

(f) ,, ,, fame, if, effort, ferry, twelfth.

(g) ,, ,, go, get, egg, pig, gig.

(k) ,, ,, coat, kit, kick, pick, cake

(HH)

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(ʜh) ,, ,, [jerked aspirate] Henry, his, home, her, behoved.

Though the aspirate has almost entirely vanished in the dialects of the townsfolk, it is yet employed with much uniformity by the people in the country.

(ḵh) Palatal guttural, as in German siech; Scotch, nicht, right, sight.

Now nearly obsolete.

(kwh) Labial guttural ,, ,, auch; Scotch, loch, wheat, what.

Now nearly obsolete.

(j) Received English in yon, you, ye, yes.
Palatal aperture contracted more with the middle of the tongue than during the formation of (ii).

(jh) Voiceless and jerked form of the last, as in Hughes, huge, hew, humility.

(l) The same in all positions as the (l) used before a vowel in received English, general continental l. This l is often held briefly, but it is quite distinct from the London and general southern l in mill, milk, fill, law, ell, lift, lip, fill.

(lh) The voiceless form of the last, frequently used before a voiceless palatal consonant, as in (mi̥lhk) (li̥lht) (bi̥lht) for milk, lilt, built.

(m) Received English as in mum, man, him, Tim.

(n) ,, ,, ,, nun, nan, hinder, tin,

(nh) The voiceless form of the last, employed where an original initial k was once used, see the next symbol.
This identical sound is in constant use in Icelandic, and in some of the other Teutonic languages, and it survives also in other parts of England in words once spelt with hn or kn.
Edenside examples are knit, knock, know, knife, &c.

(tnh) The same sound preceded by t, which represents the original k. Miss Powley, of Langanby, and Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath state that this was a common sound here many years ago. Examples, the same as the last.

(q) Employed for the received English sound in thing, ring, wing, sang, song, wrong, (thiq, riq, wiq, sæq, soq).

(r) This is a buzzed r; that is to say, r produced by driving the voiced

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voiced breath over the curved tip of the tongue, which is turned up to the front palate in a spoon-shaped form, and remains rigid, instead of vibrating as it does in the Scotch and Italian r. Properly, this consonant is a retracted form of (dh) and it should be distinguished from ordinary r in some way. Mr. Ellis's (r_o) means an "imperfect r," that is to say little else than a vowel. Old people rarely ever drop this consonant, but it is going out of use when not before a vowel, among the younger folk.

Examples: Ray, hurry, rare.

After D and T, r is invariably dental, and is then denoted by (,r).

(rh) The voiceless form is rarely used, and may be passed over here.

(s) Ordinary English value as in sister, sustain, hiss.

(z) ,, ,, ,, ,, busy, fusee, his.

(sh) ,, ,, ,, ,, fish, shew, bush.

(zh) ,, ,, ,, ,, usual, pleasure, vision.

(w) (uu) with the labial orifice contracted so as to impart somewhat of a buzzing effect to the sound; but the buzz is not as marked as it is in the south, and it seems here to be often replaced by simple (*u*) or (u).

(wh) This is the voiceless and jerked form of the last, and it often seems to be uttered as if the back of the tongue were raised as it is in the Scotch (k*w*h). We use this sound quite consistently yet, and rarely, or never, is it replaced by simple (w), except by townsfolk.

Examples are—which, whether, wheat, what.

(wr) This pair of consonants yet survives in the pronunciation of very old people, and it is said to enter into the pronunciation of some of the place-names, but I have not yet detected it for certain.

Examples—wrong, wren, write, written.

LIST OF PLACE-NAMES.

First on the list come the names terminating in (ɐ). Words of this class are by no means confined to Cumberland and Westmorland, but are

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are common nearly the whole of the north-west of England. It is a fact of perhaps some significance that place-names with a similar termination are abundant in the parts the Angles and the Saxons are reputed to have come from.

Pronunciation.	Ordinary Spelling.	Locality.
(Thækʉ Bek)	Thackay Beck	Penrith
Bo^{l}rnʉ)	Burney Hill	Knock
(*O*^{l}lkitʉ)	Ulcat Row	Dacre
(Whaaitʉ)		Milburn
(Flegdʉ)	Flagdaw	Knock
(Sto^{l}rbʉ N*i*ʉk)	Sturba Nook	Blencarn
(Paa*i*kʉ)	Various	Various localities
(Hho^{l}utsʉ)	Houtsay	Temple Sowerby
(Loo æbʉ)	Low Abbey	Kirkby Thore
(Do^{l}mʉ Kræg)	Dummah Crag	Stainmoor
(Gr*e*inʉ Kræg)	Various	Various localities
(Sk*i*dʉ)	Skiddaw	Cumberland
(Kaadʉ)	Caldew	Cumberland
(Rodhʉ)	Rawthay	Westmorland
(Baarkʉ)	Barcoe	Penrith
(T*e*ibʉ)	Tebay	Westmorland
(B*e*idʉ)	Beda Fell	Martindale
(Br*ou*nʉ)	Various	Various localities
(Whelpʉ)	Whelpa	Caldbeck
(Plo^{l}kʉ) Tarn	Plucka Tarn	Stainmoor
(R*y*dlsʉ)	Riddlesay	Westmorland
(Stænʉ)	Stanah	Thirlmere
(R*i*spʉ)	Various	Various localities
(Torpen·ʉ)	Torpenhow	Cumberland
(Sto^{l}dʉ)	Stoddah	Penruddock
(W*ou*fʉ)	Woufa	Stainmoor
(W*u*fʉ)	Wolfa	? also on Penrith Fell
(Kaavʉ)	Calva	Skidda, and elsewhere
	Endings in (shʉ)	
(Hhi*q*shʉ)	Hanging Shaw	Milburn
(Wetshʉ)	Various	Several places
(Hheershʉ)	Hareshaw, &c.	Howgill Fells, &c.
(Bo^{l}shʉ)	Bushaw	Howgill Fells
(Lofshʉ)	Various	Several places

Endings

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PRONUNCIATION.	ORDINARY SPELLING.	LOCALITY.
	ENDINGS IN (rɐ)	
(Dokrɐ)	Various	Several places
(Se̜tə̜rɐ)	Setterah, &c.	Several places
(Mo^{l}zgrɐ)	Musgrave	Westmorland
(Mo^{l}rɐ)	Moray Hill	Blencarn
(Eɛrɐ Foærs)	Arey Force	Ullswater
(Skærɐ)	Skarrow Hill	Ainstable
(Skærɐmæn·ik)	Skarrowmanwick	Cumberland
(Bærɐ)	Barrow Moor	Westmorland
(Shærɐ) (Bee)	Sharrow Bay	Ullswater
(Silvərɐ Bænd)	Silver Band	Milburn.
(Daairɐ)		Croglin
	ENDINGS IN (skɐ)	
(Græmskɐ)		Kirkby Stephen
(Mo^{l}skɐ)	Muska	Melmerby and Ousby.
(Hhiuskɐ)	Heughscar	Tirril
(Sko^{l}mskɐ)	Scumsceugh	Penrith
(Baarnskɐ)	Barnskew	Kings Meaburn
(Hhæskɐ)	Haresceugh	Cumberland
(Minskɐ)		Colby, Appleby
(Flæskɐ)	Flasco, Flaskew, Fluskew, &c.	Several places
(Koskɐ)	Cosca	Knock
(Thriyskɐ)		Milburn
(Liskɐ)		Troutbeck, Cmbland
(Flo^{l}skɐ)	Fluskew	Troutbeck, Cmbland
(Norskɐ)	Northsceugh	Cumberland
(Bæskɐ) Dyke	Basco Dyke	Cumberland
	ENDINGS IN (lɐ)	
(Kaarlɐ Bænd)		Milburn
(Kaarlɐ)		Milburn
(Gro^{l}mplɐ)	Grumpley Hill	Blencarn
(Koklɐ) Scar	Cocklock Scar	Ousby
(Hho^{l}slɐ Maaiər)	Hustley Mire	Ousby
(Beilɐ)	Bela	Westmorland
(Kaatlɐ)	Cautley	Howgill Fells (Hhaartlɐ)

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Pronunciation.	Ordinary Spelling.	Locality.
(Hhaartlɐ) (Hhaarklɐ)	Hartley	Westmorland
(Sɛilɐ)	Various	Several places
(Poulɐ)	Pooley	Ullswater
(Walɐ)	Wallow Crag, &c.	Hawes Wtr & Keswick
(Kemplɐ)	Kempley	Penrith side of Eamont Bridge
(Kouzlɐ)		Between Knock and Milburn Grange
(Finlɐ Kasl)		Mickel Fell
(HhAAtlɐ)	Haltcliff	Hesket Newmarket
(Melkɐ Bek)		Melmerby
(Roslɐ)	Rosley	Cumberland
(Hhezlɐ)	Hesley	Morland
(Brædlɐ)	Bradley	

Terminations in (ɐth)

(ærmbɐth)	Armboth	Keswick
(Kriugɐth)	Crewgarth	
(Skaaigɐth)	Skygarth	Temple Sowerby
(Silɐth)	Silloth	

Endings in (wyth)

(Skitwyth Bek)	Skitwath	Penruddock
(Laainwyth)	Linewath	Caldbeck
(Hhelwyth)	Above Knock	Westmorland
(Sændwyth)		

Terminations in (ryth)

(Pɛlyryth)	Cumberland	spelt Penrith
(Skɔryth)	Cmbland & elsewhere	,, Skirwith
(Stenkryth) (Steqkryth)	Westmorland	,, Stenkreth
(Kæryth)	Westmorland 10	,, Carrath
Another example in (Gregryth) Yorks.		,, Greygarth Fell
(ˌDˌrigvth)		A mine in the Caldbeck Fells

Endings in (ɐm)

These are usually spelled with either final *holme*; or *ham*; but many of

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of the names are applied to places that never can have had any claim to either of these terminations.

Pronunciation.	Ordinary Spelling.	Locality.
(Spiydiydəm)	Spadeadam	Bewcastle
(æskəm)	Askham	Westmorland
(Flitəm)	Flitholme	,,
(Niusəm)	Newsham	At least two places in Cumberland
(æqgrəm)	Angerholme	Kirkby Stephen
(Sebərəm)	Sebergham	Cumberland
(Brouəm)	Brougham	Westmorland
(Brigəm Bæqk)	Brigham Bank	
(Brolndəm) Beck		R. Glenderaterra
(Bolkəm)	Buckholme	Lowther

Endings in (ən)

(Hhælən Kræg)	Hallin Crag	Ullswater
(Ousən Stænd)	Oxenstand	Temple Sowerby
(Nibiken)	Newbiggin	Three, or more places
(Maastən)	Mallerstang	Kirkby Stephen
(Meilzən Bek)	Measand Beck	Mardale
(Æmən Brig)	Eamont Bridge	Westmlnd & Cmbland
(Kərbi Stebən)	Kirkby Stephen	Westmorland
(ækərən Bæqk)	Acorn Bank	Westmorland
(Gaarthərən)	Gaythorn	Westmorland
(Lei.tə.rən Liudj)		Milburn
(Læqənbi)	Langwathby	Cumberland
(Solnbigən)	Sunbiggin	Orton, Westmorland
(Bekfel·iken)	Beckfellican	
(KaarHholl·ən)		Shap
(Kərog·lən)	Croglin	Cumberland
(Selərən)	Celleron	Penrith
(Glenrid·ən)	Glenridding	Ullswater
(Dolnmaa·lən)	Dunmallet	Ullswater
(Gilkaa·mən)	Gilcambon Beck	Greystoke
(Setənəbæn·iən)		Keswick
(Ousənthət)	Oxenthwaite	Stainmoor
(Timpərən) Hall		Blenco

Terminations in (wəth)

Compare these with the names given under (Wath)

(Skitwəth

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Pronunciation.	Ordinary Spelling.	Locality.
(Skitwɐth)	Skitwath Beck	Penruddock
(Laainwɐth)	Linewath	Caldbeck
(Hhelwɐth Gil)		Above Knock
(Waaidwɐth)	Widewath	

Endings in (tɐn)

These are commonly regarded as mere mis-pronunciations of the final syllable *ton*; but I have thought it safer to record the facts, be their significance what it may.

(Raakwhtɐn Hheid)	Raughton Head	Cumberland
(Plo^{l}ntɐn)	Plumpton	,,
(Brænɐn)	Brampton	,,
(Bæntɐn)	Bampton	Shap
(Hheltɐn)	Hilton	Appleby
(Mo^{l}rtɐn)	Murton	,,
(Do^{l}ftɐn)	Dufton	,,
(Wortɐn)	Orton	Westmorland
(Stentɐn)	Stainton	Penrith
(Boɯtɐn)	Bolton	Appleby
(Baartɐn)	Barton	
(aastɐn)	Alston	
(Maastɐn)	Mallerstang	
(Oustɐn)	Ulverston (Mr. Fletcher-Rigge)	

Termination in (thɐt)

Compare these with the names given under (Whit) and (Wheet)

(Lounthɐt)	Lowmthwaite	Cmbland & Wstmland
(Kaathɐt)	Calthwaite	Cumberland
(Southɐt)	Southwaite	,,
(Oɯsɐnthɐt)	Oxenthwaite	Westmorland 24
(Rounthɐt)	Rounthwaite	
(Krosthɐt)	Crossthwaite	
(Skaathɐt) Rigg		
(Kɔrthɐt)	Curthwaite	
(Bæs'nthɐt)	Bassenthwaite	
(æpllthɐt)	Applethwaite	
(Thaarnthɐt)	Thornthwaite	
(Wanthɐt)	Wanthwaite	

(Shoulthɐt)

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Pronunciation.	Ordinary Spelling.	Locality.
(Shoulthwt)		
(Omthwt)	Ormathwaite	Keswick
(Louthwt)	Lowthwaite	Keswick
(Bliuthwt)	Bluethwaite	Dufton
(Smaathwt)	Smallthwaite	Ivegill
(Breethwt)	Braithwaite	,,
(Outhwt)		
(Hhi i^1thwt Kasll)	High Head Castle	

Terminations in (fwt)

(Lædfwt)	Ladthwaite	Kirkby Stephen
(Sænfwth)	Sandford	Appleby
(Dousunfwt)	Dolphin Seat	Kaber
(Worfwt)	Overthwaite	

See also (ædwmfwt, Grizlfwt, Setwfwt)

Endings in (bərən)

This ending is exceedingly common in many parts of the north-west of England, and it is applied occasionally to the heaps of loose stone cleared off the surface of the land.

(Waaibərən)	Wyeburne	Shap
	Also Wythburn	Keswick
(Klibərən)	Cliburn	Westmorland
Hhaarbərən)	Harberwain	Crosby Ravensworth
(Miwbərən) & (Meibərən)	Meaburn	,, ,,
(Bərənz) Hill		Colby, Appleby
(Bərənz)		Roman Camp at Kirkby Thore
(Bərən)		In the village of Milburn
(Siuuborənz)	Sewborwens	Penrith

Endings in (bərw)

(Kelbərw)		
(Whitbərw)		near Blenco
(Thornbərw)	Thornbarrow	
(Kərbərw)	Kirkbarrow	Penruddock
(Kərkbərw)	Kirkbarrow	Barton

Terminations

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Pronunciation.	Ordinary Spelling.	Locality.
	Terminations in (ɐl) (yl)	
(Pe.tə.rɐl)	R. Petteril	
(Tərɐl)	Tirril	Penrith
(Hho^{l}qrɐl) (Hho^{l}qəryl)	Hunger Hill	General
	Terminations in (skyl)	
(Winskyl) more often (Winskɐl)	Winskill	
(Hhævərskylz)	not named	5 Westmorland
(Enskyl)	Gill Beck	Cumberland 51
(Thro^{l}skyl)	Thrushgill	Westmorland 5
(Gæskyl) Tarn		Westmorland 10
(Geetskyl	Gaitsgill	near Rose Castle
(Sko^{l}skyl)	Skirsgill	Penrith
(Bowskyl)	Bowscale	Saddleback
(Bonskyl)		Ullswater
(Lonskyl)	Lonscale Fell	
(Swaainskylz)	Swinescales	Penruddock
(Hho^{l}dskylz)	Hudscales	Cumberland
(Roskyl)	Rosgill	Shap

The principle vowel (ɐ) in the terminations given above is usually regarded as a slovenly substitute for one or other of the better recognized sounds. Mr. Ellis's researches have proved that this view is untenable in regard to ordinary English, and the group of place names given next below will suffice to prove that the (ɐ) in the words just given is not due to careless utterance. The same speakers that employ this (ɐ) use also the "clear" vowels, and sound them, if anything, more distinctly than one is accustomed to in ordinary received English.

Endings in (bi)

Uniformly sounded (bi), as (æpllbi) (Kərbi) (Krosbi) &c.

	Endings, &c., in (iq)	
(Daarliq)		A place near Milburn
(Iq Hhil)	Ing Hill	Mallerstang
(Liqsto^{l}bz)	Ling Stubbs	
(Læmbekiq·)	Lambecking	

(Piqll)

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PRONUNCIATION.	ORDINARY SPELLING.	LOCALITY.
(Piqll) House (Liqkɯwel)	Plumpton	

TERMINATIONS IN (sit) and (sid)

(Ormsit)	Ormside	Westmorland
(Krosbi Reævnsit)	Crosby Ravensworth	Westmorland
(Swaainsit)	Various	Carrik, Mallerstang, Colby, Knock.
(Leisit)	Ley Seat	Westmorland 10 & 11 & Whinfell; Stainmore, &c.
(Jaarlsit)	Yarlside	Several
(Tousit)	Towcet	Westmorland 8
(Selsit	Selside	Mardale, Westmorland, & elsewhere
(Reesit)	Rayseat	AshFell,Westmorland
(NEEpsit)	Knapside Fell	Cumberland 51
(ænɯsit REEk)	Annaside Rake	Westmorland 10
(Hhaaksid)	Hawkshead	
(æmllsid)	Ambleside	

TERMINATIONS IN (saaid)

(Hhaartsaaid)		Melmerby
(Ketlsaaid)		Penrith
(Felsaaid)		General
(Skaarsaaid)		Bampton

TERMINATIONS IN (Rik) (ryk)

(Hhiurik)	How Rigg (School)	Cumberland 51
(Hhiurik)	Hung Rigg (Quarries)	Cumberland 51
(Bo^{l} tə rik)	Butterwick	Shap
(Bo^{l} tə rik GREEnz)		Ousby
(We də riks)	Weatherriggs	Brougham
(Kærik)	Carrock Fell	
(KEElbryk)	Calebrack	Caldbeck
(Do^{l} də ryk)		Mardale
(Hho ryk Wɯd)		Ullswater

TERMINATIONS

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Pronunciation.	Ordinary Spelling.	Locality.
	Terminations in (*ik*)	
(Ke*zik*)	Keswick	
(Skærɐmæn·*ik*)	Scarrowmanwick	
(Spo^{1}d*ik*) End	Spurrig End	Westmorland 17
(Grɛɛst*ik*)	Greystoke	
(Wa‸tə‸r M*ilik*)	Water Millock	Cumberland
(Penro^{1}d·*ik*)	Penruddock	Cumberland
(M*ou*ərd*iv*·*ik*)	Moor Divock	
(Dod*ik*)	Doddick	Saddleback
(Hhol*ik* Hho*u*)		Ullswater
(Sæn*ik*)	Sandwick	Ullswater
(K*o*^{1}md*iv*·*ik*)	Cumdivock	
(Blo*uik*)		Ullswater
	Terminations in (*in*)	
(Sok*in*)ber		
(Krek*in*)throp	Crackenthorpe	Appleby
(Brek*in*) Slack	Backenslack	
(Læg Maart*in*)	Long Marton	
(Tʌʌk*in* Tarn)	Talkin Tarn	
(Skæb*in* D*o*^{1}b)		Langanby
(Brek*in*br*o*^{1}f)		Calthwaite
	Terminations in clearly pronounced (*i*)	
(Brokl*i*) Moor		Plumpton
(Rezl*i*) moor	Reasley	Westmorland 5
(Es‸t‸r*i*) Brow		Westmorland 5
(K*ei*sl*i*)	Keisley	Appleby
(Mænɐst*i*)	Manesty	
	Terminations in (wh*it*) (wheet) (whɐt)	
(Brekɐnwh*it*)	Brackenthwaite	
(Aarmwh*it*)	Armathwaite	
(Gr*ii*^{1}nwhɛɛt)	Greenthwaite Hall	Greystoke
(Walwhɛɛt)	Walthwaite	Keswick
	Terminations in (k*yt*)	
(Threlk*yt*)	Threlkeld	

(Bərk*yt*)

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Pronunciation.	Ordinary Spelling.	Locality.
(Bɔrkyt)	Birket Mire, &c.	Several places
(Spaarkyt)	Sparkhead&Sparket	Ullswater

Terminations in (lyk) (lik)

(Geelyk)		Stainmoor
(Moudhlyk)	Mouthlock	Stainmoor

Terminations in (throp)

(Krekinthrop)	Crackenthorpe	Appleby
(Hhækthrop)	Hackthorpe	
(Milthrɐp)	Milnthorpe, near Kendal, and near Dent	
(Melhkinthrop)	Melkinthorpe	

Distinct (iu) in combination.

(Bliuthɐt)	Bluethwaite	Dufton
(Hho^{1}tn Skiuf)	Hutton Sceugh	Caldbeck
(Skiuf Hhi i^{1}d)	Sceugh Head	
(Skiuf Daaik)	Sceugh Dyke	
(Læmskiuf)	Lambsceugh	
(Mid'lskiuf)	Middlesceugh	
(Hho^{1}d'lskiuf)	Huddlesceugh	
(Hho^{1}d'l skiukwh)	older pronunciation	
(Skiuf)		Edenhall
(Lium)	The Luham	Penrith
(Kriukidaaik)		Ullswater
(Liun)	Lune	Westmorland&Y'shire
(Kɔrbi Fiuɔr)	Kirkby Thore	
(Kriugɐth)	Crewgarth	
(Hheg'l Fiut)	Heggle Foot	
(Glenki·un)	Glencoin	Ullswater
(Kænɔrɪɪhiuf)	modern	
(Kænɔrɪɪhiukwh	older	
(Diukɐd'l)	Duckerdale	Westmorland
(Kriukt Waaiz)		Milburn
(Hho^{1}t'n Riuf)	Hutton Roof	Cmbland & Westmlnd
(Fiul Piul)	Fairy Pool	Melmerby

Distinct

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Pronunciation.	Ordinary Spelling.	Locality.
	Distinct (*eæ*) in combination.	
(Deælmeæn)	Dalemain	Penrith
(Keæbɔr)	Kaber	
(Neætbi)	Nateby	
(Deækɔr)	Dacre	
(Eæmʊn)	Riv. Eamont	
(Teæzd'l	Teesdale	Yorkshire
(T—hheæl)	Hale Field	Westmorland 5
(Sleæks)	Slakes	Westmorland 5
(Leædhz)	Laiths	Cumberland
(Wheæl)	Whale	Westmorland
(Wheæl Gil	Whale Gill	Sowerby Row
(Laal Deæl)	Little Dale	Cross Fell
(Oud'l Deæl)		Milburn
(Krosbi Reæv'nsit	Crosby Ravensworth	Westmorland
(Skeælz Hhaa)	Scales Hall	
(Ne\dɔ\rskeælz)	Netherscales	
(Teælbɔrt)	Tailbert	Shap
(Steængilz)		
(Breædfi i[1]lld)	Broadfield	Cumberland
	(*iiɐ*) or (*iiɛ*)	
(Riiɛ)	Wreay	Carlisle and elsewhere
	Distinct (*oæ*) in combination.	
(Juʊnkloæs)	Ewen Close	
(Koætkloæs)	Colt Close	Penrith
(Moæzd'l)	Variously	Several
(Djoænbi)	Johnby	
(Kloæs hhous)	Close House	Knock
(Koæt hhil)	Cote Hill	Carlisle
(Koæt Saaik)	Coatsike	Knock
(Aaik'l Loænin)		Greystoke
(Hheg'l Loænin)	Heggle Lane	
	Distinct (*oʊ*) in combination.	
(Boʊgæp)	Hutton Grange	
		(Boʊt'n)

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Pronunciation.	Ordinary Spelling.	Locality.
(Bɔut'n)	Bolton	Westmorland
(Koubi)	Colby	Westmorland
(Fourɛs)	Fowrass	Penrith
(Bou Skaar)	Bow Scar	Penrith
(Ouzbi)	Ousby	Cumberland

Distinct (iuu) in combination.

(Fiuuzd'l)		Ullswater
(Ko^{l}mri·uu)	Cumrew	
(Siuuborɛnz)	Sewborwens	Penrith
(Biuuli) or (lɛ)	Beulah House	Ullswater
(Biuuli Kas'l)	Bewley Castle	Appleby
(Niuutɛn)	Newton Reigny	

Endings in (bɔrt)

(Teælbɔrt)	Tailbert	Mardale
(Sokbɔrt)	Sockbridge	Penrith
(Wilbɔrt Fel)	Wildboar Fell	Westmorland

Terminations in (mɔr)

(Rægmɔr) Moss	Wragmire Moss	
(Stænmɔr)		
(Thelmɔr)	Thirlmere	
(Blækmɔr)		
(Winmɔr)	Windmoor End	Stainmoor
(Seimɔr) Tarn		
(Reidmɔr)		Musgrisedale
(Oomɔr)	Not named	Milburn
(Do^{l}dmɔr)	Dudmire	
(Kæt'lmɔr) tarn	Cattle Mire	

Endings in (wath)

(Windɛnwath)	Winderwath	Westmorland
(Stog'lwath)	Stockdalewath	Cumberland

Addenda

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Pronunciation.	Ordinary Spelling.	Locality.

Addenda and Miscellaneous Names not Reducible to any of the above Classifications.

(Djɨlɨɐn Bouɐr)	Julian Bower	Westmorland
(O¹k'lbɐr Skaar)	Oglebird Scar, Temple Sowerby	Cumberland
(Berɨɐr Nɨtlz)	Eycott Hill	Penruddock
(Hho¹lz w ˌa ˌtɐ ˌr)	Ullswater	
(Rys'ndɐl)	Ravenstonedale	Westmorland
(Wɨlɨ bouɐr Skaar)	Wild Boar Scar	Cumberland
(Wɨlbɐnɨuk·)	Willybower Nook	Cumberland
(Melɐrbɨ)	Melmerby	Cumberland
(Gæmɐzbɨ)	Gamblesby	Cumberland
(Dof'nbɨ)	Dovenby	
(Robɐbɨ)	Robberby	Winskill
(AAlbɨ)	Aldby	Penrith
(Lal Sæf'll)	Little Salkeld	Cumberland
(Gɐrt Sæf'll	Great Salkeld	Cumberland
(Læqɐnbɨ)	Langwathby	Cumberland
(Shɨlgrɨn)	Shield Green	Melmerby
(Hhaaikɐb'll)	High Cup Gill	Westmorland
(Enstɐb'll)	Ainstable	
(SkAA Fell)	Scald Fell, Dufton	Westmorland
(Hhelbek)	Hillbeck, Brough	Westmorland
(Mouɐrlɐn)	Morland	Westmorland
(Kryn'l daaɨk)	Cringle Dyke	Westmorland
(Dofɐnbɨ)	Dolphinby	
(Bænɐdɐl)	Bannerdale	Saddleback
(Borɐd'l)	Borrowdale	K'wick,Stainmoor,&c.
(Aar'l Hhɨ ɨ¹d)	Ardale Head	Kirkland
(Bo¹stɐ Bek)		Cumberland
(Roo Bek)	Roe Beck	Cumberland
(Skɨ ɨ¹lz)	Skeels	Plumpton
(Bɐrkɐ Pas ˌtɐ ˌr)		Stainmoor
(Beksɨz)	Beckcies	Penruddock
(Skelsɨz)	Skelcies	Kirkby Stephen
(Læqɐshɨz)	Milestone House	Penrith
(Blenkaar·n)	Blencairn	Cumberland
(Dolfɨn Staaɨ)	Dolphin Sty	Wilbert Fell, Westmld
		HhAAs)

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Pronunciation.	Ordinary Spelling.	Locality.
(Hhaas)	Horse, Hause, &c.	Various
(Skrætjmɐ Skaar)	Scratchmill Scar	Plumpton
(Kɔrko^{1}z·lld)	Kirkoswald	Cumberland
(Kodbek)	Coldbeck, Caldbeck	Cumberland & Westd.
(So^{1}dhɔrɐnbɨ)	Southernby	
(Wespɔrlɐnd)	Westmorland	
(Ko^{1}mɔrlɐnd)	Cumberland	
(Mækwhɐnbɨ)	Maughanby	
(Nhok) Paaik)	Knock	Westmorland 5
(Hhɛɛm Kroft)		Westmorland 5
The Queen's (Hhɛɛmz)		Penrith
(Eɛkli Bek)	Milburn	Westmorland 5
(Blɨ i^{1}zf'l)	Blaze Fell	Cumberland
(Loskɐz)	Loscars	Westmorland 5
(Bromɔrɨ)	Bramery	Westmorland 5
(Bræmɔrɨ)		Ainstable
(Bræmɔrɨ)		Penrith
(Broumɔrɨ)		Plumpton
(Bærɐs) Station,		
(Mɐngraaiz·d'l)	Mungrisedale	Cumberland
(Bænɐst Hhɨl)	Bannest Hill	
(Benɐt Hhɨ i^{1}d)	Bennethead	Ullswater
(Walɐwɐ)	Walaway	Penruddock
(B$_{\wedge}$askɐdɛɨk)	Bascodike	
(Rigdɛɨk)	Rigdyke	Skelton
(Hhaaikɐp)	High Cap	Ousby
(Hhaastɨ i^{1}dz)	Hallsteads	Dufton
(Whɨpɐstɨ i^{1}dz)	Whitby Steads	Lowther
(Lænfuts)	Landsfoot	Penrith
(Waant'l)	Wan Fell	Cumberland
(Bærɨk) Park	Barrock Park	
(Kas'l Kærɨk)	Castle Carrock	
(Warɨk)	Warwick	Carlisle
(ɛɛkbæqk)	Oakbank	Calthwaite
(Hhez'lHho^{1}st)		Mungrisedale
(Hh$_{\wedge}$arwɔrɨ Bek)	Part of Swindale Beck,	Knock
(Fornsyt)		Keswick
(æskrɨg)		Troutbeck
(Hhɨ i^{1}rɨg)	Highrigg	Penrith
		(Southwf'l)

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PRONUNCIATION.	ORDINARY SPELLING.	LOCALITY.
(Southɐ'l)		Troutbeck
(Bænɐdɐl)	Bannerdale Fell	Troutbeck
(Brekinbər)	Brackenber	Appleby
(Walɪhhous)		Pooley
(Thoorp)		Barton
(FloshgEEt		Ullswater
(Hhi i^{l}brig)	High Bridge	
(Sti i^{l}l Jet)	Steelgate	
(EEkɐt Jet)	Aiket Gate	
(Kourig)		
(Skiprig)		Cumberland
(Aait'nfi i^{l}lld)		Broadfield
(Graaizd'll Bek)		Riv. Glenderamackin
(LEEdhɐ)		Morland
(Gərsnɐp)	Grass Knop	

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ART. V.—*Some Notes on the Discovery of the Foundations of an Ancient Building near the Park Farm, Dalton-in-Furness.* By JOHN FELL, Dane Ghyll.

Read at Kendal, July 7th, 1881.

IN Close's edition of West's Antiquities of Furness, the following allusion is made to the remains of an ancient building, situated near the Park Farm, Dalton-in-Furness:—

"It is possible there was a consecrated edifice containing one or more baths, situated about a mile to the north of the chapel of St. Hellen, in a meadow called Chapel Meadow, near the park; for there, in 1801, part of a leaden aqueduct with numerous branches was found within the area of an ancient building. The pipes were about an inch and a half in diameter, and had probably been carried to a small perennial spring which is still called 'Holywell,' or to some other convenient place for water, which is now unknown."

In 1879 there existed a mound in the meadow on the Park Farm, which is still known as "Chapel Meadow," although it also bears the name of "Calty Crooks." This mound was covered with grass, and until it was turned over in that year for some examination of its contents, it was regularly mowed as part of the meadow. Mr. Slater, the occupier of the Park Farm, which is the property of the Duke of Devonshire, represents an old family who have resided for many generations on this farm. He has been familiar with this Chapel Meadow all his life, and in his opinion it will be about one hundred years ago since a quantity of stones were removed from the proximity of the mound, and used in the original farm house or its adjacent buildings. Some of these stones were carved, and others seemed to have formed parts of an arch. They have now been lost sight of, as these farm buildings have fallen into disrepair, owing to an adjacent Hematite Iron Mine

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Mine having broken down the surface of the ground, and rendered them no longer habitable. The whole of the stones were not removed at that time from the meadow or neighbourhood of the mound; but when the new farm buildings were being erected they were hunted up, and have been used in their construction. They were all hewn stones of the upper red Permian sandstone of the locality, but beyond these facts, and that there was no appearance of their having been at any time previously set with mortar, they had no specially noticeable features or peculiarities. The operation of turning over the mound disclosed the foundations of a building, which are somewhat interesting and remarkable. Chapel Meadow is situated at the northern end of the Goldmire Valley, a little beyond its narrowest point, and it cannot be very far distant from the line of road which is said to be Roman. It is narrated in Close's editions of West's Antiquities of Furness. "In the month of May, 1803, two labourers in making a deep capacious drain discovered an ancient road paved with large stones at the head of Goldmire." This road would almost, without doubt, form the ancient highway from the Furness district into Cumberland. Portions of Chapel Meadow are on sound dry ground, while other portions are of peat moss and boggy. In the worst part of this portion of the meadow the ancient building under consideration has been placed. The disinterred foundations, which are but little below the present level of the surrounding ground, disclose a rectangular building facing towards the west on its longest side. It has a length of about eighteen feet, and a width of ten feet four inches. The rectangular form is broken by a projection which stands outwards on the eastern side, about three feet, and there appears to be pretty clear evidence of steps for the admission of persons to the main part of the building. The whole length of the structure on the western face rests on single logs of oak, which have been rudely squared, and are

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are from about seventeen inches in breadth to fifteen inches in thickness. These logs are placed on the peat moss without any other consolidating foundation. The masonry, which consists of good-sized blocks of hewn stone, (red sandstone of the upper Permian), is laid on the oak logs. These are perfectly sound, but have become black, like ordinary bog oak. The sandstone could be obtained within a comparatively short distance, and is identical with that employed in building Furness Abbey, distant about one mile, and in the lower part of the same valley. There are no signs of mortar having been used in the foundations of this building, and Mr. Slater informs me that none of the stones removed at various dates from its vicinity showed any signs of mortar. No roof timber has been discovered, but portions of broken slate of rough quality have turned up in some abundance with large round holes drilled in each, as for a peg of wood or iron. There were signs of wood ashes, but these had more the appearance of being the relics of the fires of a cooking place than of charred or burnt roof timbers. At the distance of a few paces other foundations were disclosed in turning over the mound, but quite dis-similar from those just described, the stone employed being limestone in an undressed condition. These foundations do not rest on any logs of wood, nor do they seem necessarily to belong to the same structure or period. A rough stone drain was also disclosed, but this again bears no reliable evidence of its identity with the principal building. Surrounding it, and extending over a considerable area, there appears to have been a stockade of strength. It is composed of oak stakes or piles carefully pointed, of from three to five inches in diameter, and possibly of five to seven feet in length, which have been firmly driven into the boggy soil. The length of these stakes is conjectural, as they have decayed above the ground, although that portion remaining in the peat moss is quite sound. The marks of the axe, or some sharp cutting instrument, are quite visible

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visible on their pointed ends. For years they have been gradually diminishing all round the building, as the inconvenience caused by them to mowing the hay, led to their being pulled out; but at the eastern entrance to the main building a large bunch of them remains untouched. It is extremely difficult to conjecture what the object could be of such a defensive structure as this stockade would form, if there is any ground for supposing, as Mr. Close does, that this was "a consecrated edifice containing one or more baths." If these stakes had been intended to carry any weight, it seems unlikely that they would have been so carefully pointed. If they have been set to carry any approach or footway over the boggy ground, it is fair to assume that there would have been evidence of some regularity and order for such a purpose; but Mr. Slater, who remembers the place well for over fifty years, states that there was never any sign of regularity, and that they were driven into the ground all round the building very much in the same manner as the bunch which remains fortunately untouched.

About one hundred years ago, in digging in the meadow, a leaden pipe was found connecting the fine spring of water rising in the wood above the new farm house, and known as the spring wood, with the ancient building. This spring may be three hundred yards distant. The "Holywell," which still remains, and which may be two hundred yards away, in an opposite direction, has no evidence of any connection by leaden pipe or otherwise; and it is scarcely conceivable that in constructing the railway or in draining such connection could have escaped observation had it existed. The pipe from the spring in the spring wood is still visible above the new farm house, and conveys water to the present day. The branch of pipes to which Mr. Close alludes has disappeared, and its present whereabouts does not seem to be known.

In the course of the excavations of the foundations of this

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this ancient structure many interesting objects were discovered; more especially, two keys may be mentioned, both of bronze—one in perfect preservation, the other somewhat injured—both however of similar type and character. The larger key when discovered had all the appearance of having been concealed under the stone under which it lay —no locks or hinges of doors have so far been seen, although the whole mound was carefully turned over. In addition to the keys, a piece of ancient tile, several fragments of pottery, some melted lead, a millstone, and a portion of one fractured, were found; some bones also were turned up, a piece of lead pipe, and a fine specimen of lead ore were also discovered. The search was carefully conducted, and so far as the mound in the meadow is concerned, probably little was left untouched or undiscovered. The description now given contains the facts, so far as the search, time, and articles discovered are concerned. The writer of these notes must leave to more experienced hands the settlement of the purpose and date of the ancient building, which has been disclosed in this meadow by the exploration of its grassy mound.

After this paper had been read, the various articles found were exhibited by Mr. Fletcher-Rigge. The prevalent opinion was that the two keys were mediæval, probably of the fourteenth century. The following of the same discovery by Mr. Thompson Watkin is interesting.

"Mr. West further states, that in 1801 part of a leaden aqueduct, with numerous branches, was found within the area of an ancient building, containing one or more baths, in a meadow near Park Farm. In August, 1879, some men, digging for stone for building in this meadow, came upon stone foundations, laid on massive pieces of oak, presumed to be part of the buildings named by Mr. West. A quantity of light slag, evidently smelting refuse; lead ore, in a pure state; a carved bronze key; a mason's pencil; and a number of bones were also found at the same time. The site adjoins the Furness Railway, and

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and is on property belonging to the Duke of Devonshire. It is right to say that the evidence as to these remains being Roman is by no means conclusive."*

* From "the Minor Roman Stations of Lancashire; also the Camps and Miscellaneous Discoveries in the County." By W. Thompson-Watkin, Esq. Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. xxxii, 79.

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ART. VI.—*Westmorland Bells.* By ROBERT GODFREY. *Read at Kendal, July 7th,* 1881.

OF the belfries which I have examined, Kendal and Kirkby Lonsdale present no features of great interest. The bells are all or nearly all modern, Kendal having nothing older than the seventeenth century (on two of these there is a shield with the Royal Arms) while Kirkby Lonsdale bells are of this century, and the legends on the old ones are lost.

Kirkby Stephen is fortunate in having a chronicler of its own, and in the pages of the Parish Magazine I find all that can be learned respecting the bells. It is a local tradition that the original peal was intended for Great Salkeld; as a gift from Whittington, of immortal fame; but that from some cause or other (probably seized for stowage), they were delayed in transit at Kirkby Stephen, and never got forward to their destination. This is not the only case in which local tradition speaks of a peal being changed at nurse. Dent and Melling are said each to be the possessor of the other's bells, and although there is documentary proof that such is not the case, the "old inhabitant" will not be convinced to the contrary, and cherishes the tradition with all the faith of his rugged nature. An old bell at Kirkby Stephen had the legend "*S. Hugo ora pro nobis*" but the bell has been either absorbed in the present peal or left at the founders when the recent ones were cast.

On the third bell (1874) was a trade mark, viz., a pick-hack, above initial letters, and a spade below. In 1880 a peal of eight bells was hung, and what was the 4th is now No. 7.

Brough has some old bells, but on the occasion of my visit I was so pressed for time that I could not make satisfactory

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factory copies of the legends. On one I found, "The Rt. Hon: Ann: Countess of Pembroke, 1670"; and on all of them something worth copying, but time compelled me to leave the task to others.

At Grasmere are three bells, dated respectively 1731, 1731, 1809, and on the two older bells a large shield, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with the coat of arms of the Fleming family.

Crosthwaite, near Kendal, has three bells, two dated respectively 1695 and 1861, and one undated. The undated one has a legend in letters, of a character suggestive of the latter part of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The legend is—

[*sic.*] "*Me benedicte tuum Sonitum*
Benedicte vocitatum."

The 1695 bell has a number of the then current coins let into the metal, and is supposed to have been cast at a foundry in Kendal, as "Christo: Hodson me fecit," refers to a local founder.

At Orton there are three bells, dated 1637, 1637, and 1711 respectively, and one undated. On this last are two words, "*Omniu sanctore,*" in German text, and then the letters LB of Roman form. The Orton Chronicler says—and it must be true as he says it—that this bell came from Shap Abbey after the Dissolution. If so, where are the others of that peal? May they not be in unsearched belfries awaiting the day of their re-union in one harmonious peal? The bell has a small shield, but being unskilled in heraldic devices I cannot interpret it.

Among the smaller churches which have bell turrets and no belfries, there is ample scope for search, and I would urge every clergyman to find out what his bells say as well as what they sing. At Crosby Garret there are two bells, one undated and without a legend, and on the other the words, "Sancti Andrea Campagna." At Burneside the patron saint

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saint of the Church is St. Oswald, and during the present restoration and enlargement I found the bell cast under a tree in the churchyard as of little value, which may be the case from a musical point of view, but when I examined the legend I found on it SANCTI GREG O RI O RA PRO NOBIS. The two s's were inverted and two of the o's were lying on their sides instead of standing on their ends. It is a puzzle as to how Burneside got a bell which apparently does not belong to it. One solution of the enigma is that the Church of St. Gregory, at Preston Patrick, lost a bell some years back, and never found it, and that probably it was spirited into the tower of St. Oswald's. Some old foundations—such as Kentmere and Hutton Roof have disappointed me, both of these have modern bells, where I expected to find old ones.

At Crook Church is an old bell bearing the legend "Sancta Maria Ora pro nodis," in well-formed letters, a founder's blunder existing in the last word, where a *d* is substituted for a *b*. On the body of the bell is a shield bearing the arms of France Ancient and England quartered. Heralds say that the period when that shield was used dates from 1340 to 1405, thus possibly affording some clue to the age of the present church.

At Ings Church are three bells, given by T. Bateman in 1734; and a very ingenious contrivance, by a local genius, is in use to chime all three with one hand, thus avoiding the pernicious practice of "*clocking*," a practice which has been the ruin of more bells in the country than hundreds of years of fair wear. I would strongly urge every one who has the care of bells to see that lazy sextons or parish clerks never tie the rope to the hammer. Sooner or later a crack will appear, and then another good bell will be irredeemably spoilt.

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ART. VII.—*Remains at Hugill, near Windermere.* By T. WILSON, Secretary to the Society.

Visited by the Society, July 8th, 1881.

IN company with Mr. Joseph Robinson, of Maryport, I visited the site of the supposed ancient British village at Hugill, near Windermere. It lies on the south slope of Hugill Fell, about eight hundred feet above the sea level, and a quarter of a mile from High House, Hugill, in the parish of Kendal. An ancient bridle road from Troutbeck into Kentmere passes close by, on the south side; and traces of the Roman road may also be found, pointing to Ill Bell and High Street. The site of the village is well chosen, and of much strategetic importance, overlooking an extensive range of country to the south and west, and affording an alternative means of retreat to the rear, by either of the valleys of Troutbeck or Kentmere, to the inaccessible mountain district beyond. The immediate vicinity is well watered, a large tarn still exists at no great distance, and others in the immediate vicinity have been drained in the process of cultivation, but were within living memory full of large coarse fish, and frequented by wild fowl.

The site is now enclosed by a dry stone wall. From a distance the ground seems covered with stones and boulders lying here and there without any appearance of order. On a nearer inspection, however, we find a large outer circle containing a number of smaller circles, and other enclosures.* The outer circle or boundary is irregular, but well-defined, especially towards the north-east, where the foundations are very distinct, and in good preservation. They

* For a description of similar enclosures, and for ground plans of similar circles, —see article entitled "Ancient Circular Habitations," by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P., F.S.A., in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. 26, pp. 301-323.

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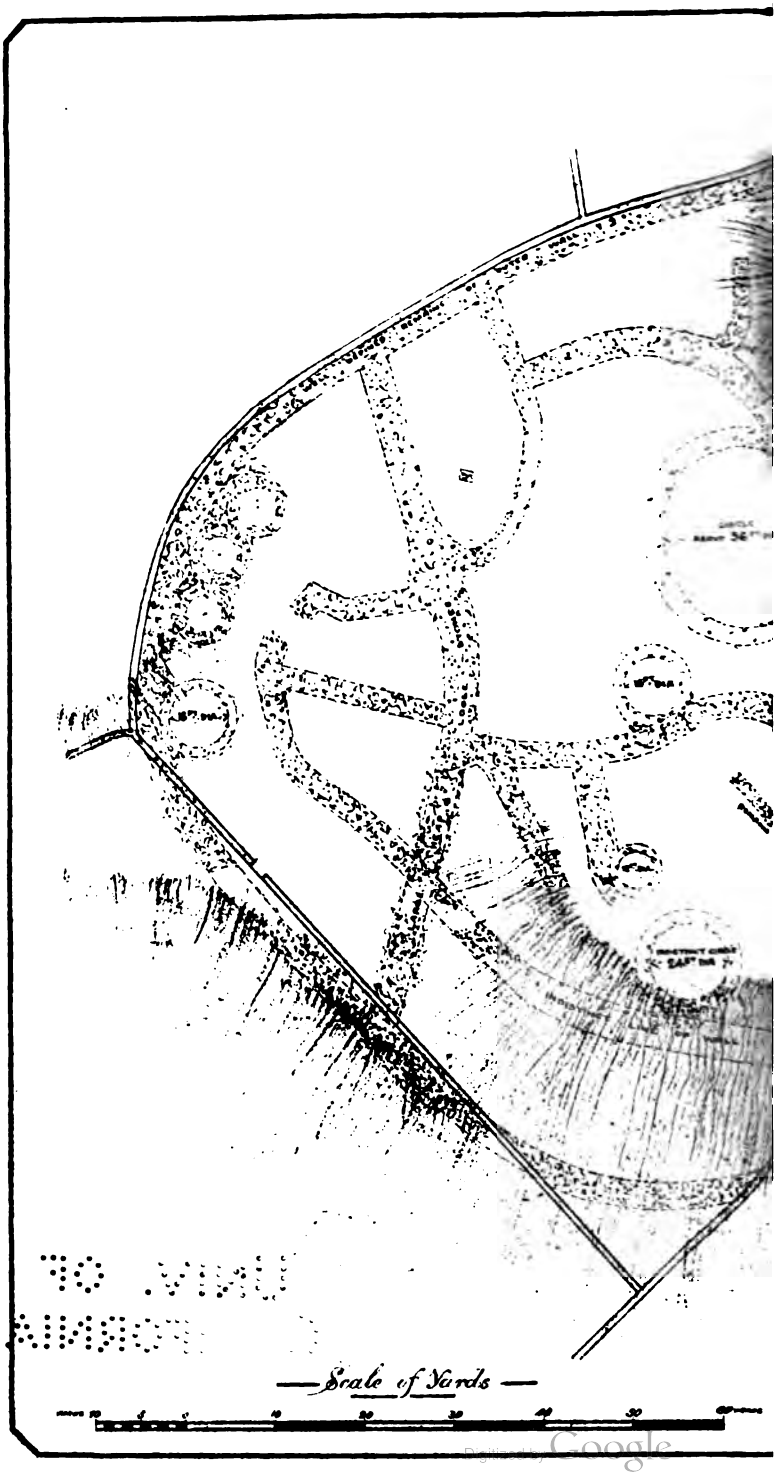

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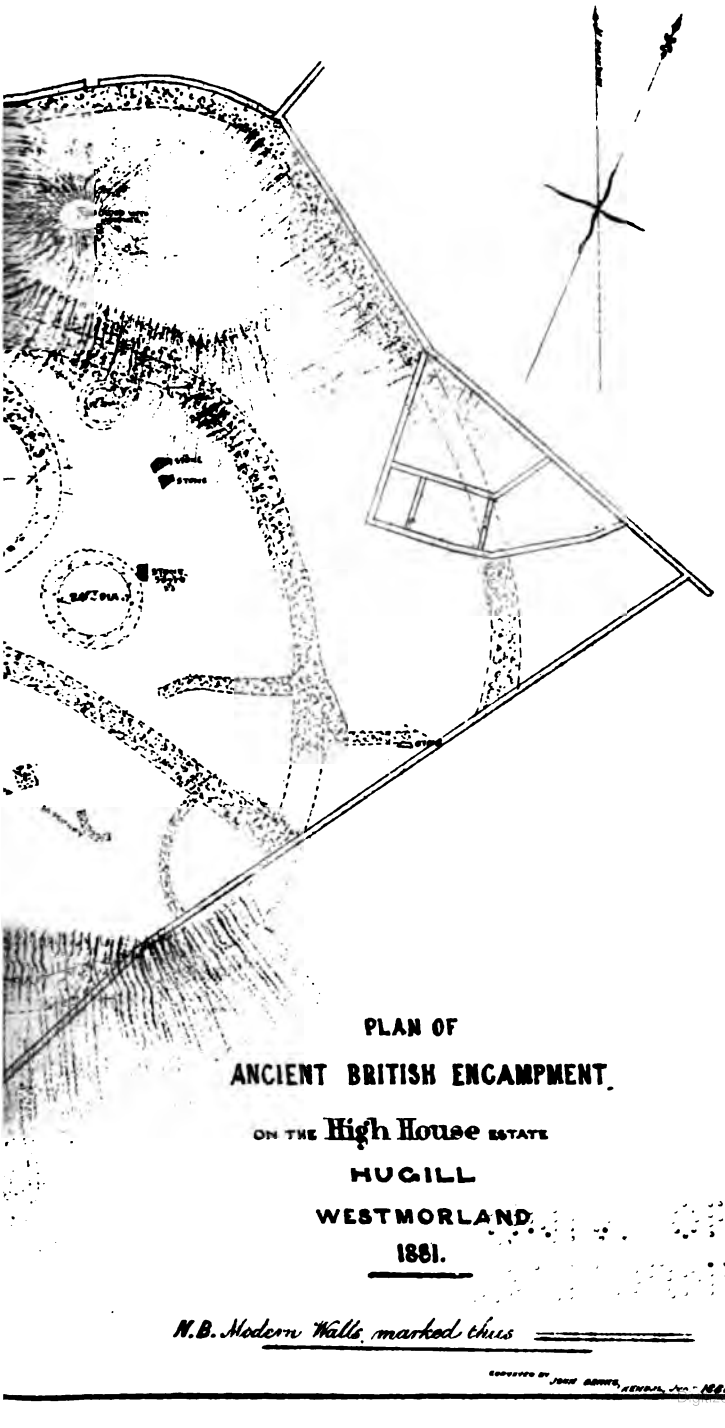

PLAN OF

ANCIENT BRITISH ENCAMPMENT

ON THE High House ESTATE

HUGILL

WESTMORLAND

1881.

N.B. Modern Walls marked thus ———

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are formed of two parallel rows of large unhewn stones or boulders, about four feet apart. The space between the inner and outer foundations has been filled in with smaller stones and earth, and thus forms a strong defensive work. A trench dug here showed that the boulder foundation was sunk about eighteen inches below the surface, and rested on a hard gravelly subsoil. To the west the present stone fence has been built on a portion of the circle, and the old foundation has evidently been removed. Towards the south and south-east there is a considerable declivity, and here the circle is broken, though a considerable heap of stones at the foot of the hill seems to incline one to think that they once formed a portion of the wall. The diameter of this outer enclosure is ninety-six paces, or about two hundred and ninety feet: it has been divided by a stone wall into what may be called an inner and an outer bailey. The foundations of this wall are still well defined, and run in a curved direction from the east towards the south-west. The southern side of this division is nearly clear of stone foundations, whilst the north side, or the inner bailey, contains five well-defined circles, and a number of irregular heaps, apparently the ruins of other stone circles. The first of the small or inner stone circles that we examined is the one on the north-east. It does not touch the outer circle, but stands quite clear, and is about twenty-four feet in diameter. In the centre, sunk in the ground, was a rude platform or plinth formed of large stones, near which a large boulder was lying on its side, but which had evidently at some time stood upright on the plinth. We dug below the foundation of this platform, but there was no reward for our labours. The large boulder was also examined, expecting to find cupmarkings, as at Great Salkeld and Maughanby, but the stone was very much weather-worn, and no marks were visible.* Leaving this circle we

* At the Society's visit, Dr. Taylor carefully examined this stone, and he found one instance of a cupmark.

proceeded

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proceeded to the next and largest in the enclosure—it is fifty-six feet in diameter, well-defined, and touches the outer walls. Exactly in the centre was a small stone boulder, which we lifted, and then dug a trench about six yards long and eighteen inches deep. We found no traces of any remains, the ground having evidently never been before disturbed. The remaining circles on the west side we also tried, but without any results: some of the boundary stones have been disturbed, and are not *in situ*, and may have been used in building the modern stone fences. On the south-west side the stones are laying in confused heaps, and may be the ruins of stone huts. A thorough examination failed to disclose any signs of the marks of work tools of any description, the stones having been used just as picked up from the neighbouring fells, but the foundations of the circles were laid with the greatest regularity. After our examination was finished, we went on to the hill behind, thinking we might be able to discern mounds or tumuli where the inhabitants of such a village might bury their dead, but these we failed to discover; though there are a great many traces of other circles and foundations, partly of a similar character to the one described, though less perfect.

On a subsequent visit with an efficient excavating party, one of the best defined circles on the west side of the enclosure was subjected to a more systematic examination. On lifting the sods the area was found filled up with a number of large stones, laying in heaps, and levelled up with earth. These were cleared away, and at a depth of about eighteen inches there was a thin layer of light-coloured clayey soil extending all over the surface of the interior of the circle, and slanting towards what had apparently been the doorway. In this clayey soil, which we took to have been a rough description of flooring, and just within the entrance, we found a number of calcined stones and some charcoal. Beneath this flooring was the hard sammel, which we did not examine. This

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This camp has evidently been a place of importance. It does not figure in Mr. Clifton Ward's list, nor is it shown on the Ordnance Plan, and has never been described by any experts; yet it is well worth a visit, and deserves to be recorded.

The following is an account of the Society's visit to the the settlement, compiled mainly from the *Westmorland Gazette*:—

The casual observer would have noticed little beside a quantity of greyish stones and boulders lying in rough lines and heaps over about half an acre of ground. To the archæologist there was a history to these rough stones, and, mounting on one of the heaps, Mr. Ferguson gave that history very briefly. He said that some little time ago Mr. Addison, the owner of the estate, had drawn the attention of Mr. Wilson, the secretary, to a peculiarity in the distribution of these stones, and an excursion had been made by Mr. Wilson, Mr. Braithwaite, himself, and other members of the Society. They had scraped away the turf and soil, and found traces of some regularly-built walls of circular form, distributed over the enclosure where they were standing. Through the kindness of the borough surveyor of Kendal, Mr. Banks, a most carefully drawn plan had been made of the site, and the plan was passed round for inspection. By its aid the stone formations referred to were readily recognised. Mr. Ferguson went on to say that "at some former time there had been a stone wall running completely round the enclosure, and it was very nearly defined by the present walls of the field. Inside that enclosure they found several circles which had been originally hut circles. There were four small ones together, four other large ones, and a very large one, 56 feet in diameter, while the others were from 12 feet to 18 feet. These hut circles very much resembled those found in Ireland and the western isles of Scotland; and called 'raths' and 'cashels.' The huts were what were called bee-hive huts, and in some places were standing more or less perfect, but here they had been thrown down, and the stones used to make the fences which they saw round the field. He did not pretend to be able to explain all the traces of walls which they saw; probably some of them were kraals for keeping cattle in. Mr. Joseph Anderson's new book gave an interesting account of some similar remains,* which were supposed to be those

* "Scotland in Early Christian Times; Lecture III."

of

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of early Christian churches. At Hugill these huts must have existed before any Christianity had reached this country. These huts were generally found within reach of water; and formerly, he was told, there was an excellent spring in the next field, and there were two or three tarns close to this place, now drained, but which in living memory swarmed with coarse fish and wild fowl. There were some similar remains at Barnscar, near Devock Water, in Cumberland, but they were nothing like so clear as these; some near Coniston covered a larger area, but he did not think they were so clearly defined. There were also traces of a British settlement at Crosby Ravensworth, and accounts of several similar places were to be found in the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for instance, in the 3rd volume, 1st series, which gives accounts of beehive huts in Harris, Lewis, Uig, &c., with plans and sketches. On a previous visit he and Mr. Wilson dug away the earth with a view to finding traces of animal life such as bones, &c. About eighteen inches below the surface a clay flooring of uneven surface was reached, and here some remains of vegetable charcoal were discovered, and many stones which had been subjected to the action of fire. By clearing away the ruinated or upper parts of the walls, the lower courses were seen to be regularly built, but without mortar."

The site of these huts at Hugill is a sort of natural hollow or basin somewhat protected to the north, but open to the south, and commanding a most extensive prospect of Westmorland scenery. As the party were leaving, Dr. Taylor examined one of the larger stones at present lying on its side, but which, judging from the platform of stones underneath, must at one time have been standing upright, and he at once found a cup-mark exactly like what he had noticed at other similar places, and suggested that before the description of the place was published, the stone should be turned over and carefully examined for further markings.

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Art. VIII.—*Knitting-Sheaths or Knitting-Sticks.*

By R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A.*

I HAVE the honour to exhibit to the Society twenty-eight specimens of knitting-sheaths or knitting-sticks collected mainly from the Wigton district in Cumberland. These implements are stuck into the girdle or apron-string, at the right hand side, for the purpose of supporting the end of one of the knitting-needles (either three or four in number) during knitting, while the clue, or ball of thread, is supported by the clue-holder,—a metal hook, of which I exhibit three specimens, one dated 1769.

I do not claim for these objects any great antiquity. They are of the class of antiquities which Prof. Mitchell, in his admirable work, *The Past in the Present*, calls "Neo-Archaic"; objects whose use has either just ceased, or only lingers in out-of-the-way places. But I claim for these objects that they are, in most cases, reproductions of very archaic types.

The knitting-sheaths on the table divide themselves into four classes. The most modern in type are those produced by the turner's lathe, of which I have here several specimens. Nothing more can be said of them than that they are very nicely turned. From inquiries I have made, this class does not date back earlier than about the beginning of this century. I have not thought it worth while to give an illustration of any of this class.

A second class is heart-shaped. Now-a-days people are content to stick the needle into a quill stitched to a tri-

* Reprinted, by permission, from the "Journal British Archæological Association," vol. 37, where, by an error, it is stated the knitting-stick is used on the "left hand side." A lady writes:—"The sheath was always worn at the *right* hand side (not the left), the needle placed in the sheath being the free (empty) needle on which the row was to be knitted; and it would have been quite impossible to place this needle on the left hand side, and there to use it."

angular

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angular bit of cloth, or to use a tin heart with a tube behind it; but I exhibit a beautiful specimen carved in wood (No. 7 on the Plate), which is of an archaic type.

The third and fourth classes are archaic in type, and have neither been bought in a tin-shop, nor turned in a lathe. They are the work of the peasants and farm servants. Though they follow, in the main, two distinct patterns, yet they have an individuality about them, and were, no doubt, made by the country lads for their sweethearts. That was the case with this one (No. 5 in the drawing), which was made by a farm-servant, and is inscribed ESTER GRAVES, 1722.

One of these two classes (the third and fourth classes) resembles a knife or dagger (see Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, in the drawing). They are curved to fit the waist. The other class (see Nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, and 11), are straight, and are of the type of the one engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv, p. 95. The instance there engraved is from the Links of Skaill, in Orkney, and is supposed to be of the last century. No. 9 in the drawing has been in the family of the late Mr. George Moore for over a century, and No. 10 is dated 1755.

The ornamentation of classes 3 and 4 seems to have a decidedly northern look. To my mind they are silent evidences of that colonisation of Cumberland and Westmorland unrecorded in history, but proved by my relative, Mr. R. Ferguson, M.P., in his *Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland*.

Since writing the above, a fifth class of knitting-sticks has been brought to my notice,—a class whose prototype has been the head of a fiddle. This class has a very Italian type about it, but comes clearly from the fiddle.

I also exhibit two "broaches." Halliwell, in his *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, says, "in Yorkshire they call a skewer, or any sharp pointed stick, a *broche*, as also the spindle-stick whereon the thread or yarn

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yarn is wound." The ball of yarn was stuck on one end of the broche, and the other end into the knitter's shoe, who, of course, is sedentary.

I am indebted to Mr. F. Simpson, architect, for the beautiful drawing of eleven of the specimens exhibited by me.

In the discussion which arose, the Rev. Mr. Mayhew said that the dagger-shaped type reminded him of knives and daggers depicted on Mithraic stones found in the vicinity of the Roman Wall. In all probability the type originated thus; and thus their Eastern aspect was accounted for.

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ART. IX.—*Burneside Hall.* By the REV. G. F. WESTON, Vicar of Crosby Ravensworth, and Hon. Canon, Carlisle Cathedral.

Read at Burneside Hall, July 8th, 1881.

THE earliest mention met with of the Manor of Burneside, or as it seems to have been originally spelt Burneshead, is in the early part of the reign of Edward I, when it was in the possession of one Gilbert de Burnesheaad, who was sworn into the office of undersheriff of Westmorland about the year 1290. He was the last of the De Burnesheads who held the Manor. Its next owners were the De Bellinghams, a family springing from Tynedale, in Northumberland, to one of whom, Richard de Bellingham, Gilbert de Burneshead's only daughter and heiress, Margaret, was married. Seven of the De Bellinghams held the manor in lineal succession, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, during a period of something more than two hundred years.*

What may have been the extent and importance of the manor, and what the condition of the hall, or manor house, under the De Burnesheads, it is not easy to say; there may be traces of the original building, but the main part of the Hall, as it now stands, must, from its details, have been built during the time of the De Bellinghams.

To the examination of the building let us now proceed. The main portions of the existing building seem to be of the fifteenth century. Whether any portions of a previous building can be traced I am not certain. If so they are to be found in the pointed arched doorways of the hall. These, for any details to the contrary, might have been erected in

* Nicholson and Burn's "History of Westmorland and Cumberland," vol. i, p. 125.

the

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the previous century; and I rather lean to the opinion that they were, since had the erection taken place in the 15th century, the tudor or four-centered arch, which is the characteristic form of that period, would probably have been found in the place of these pointed doorways. If this opinion be correct, then the tower will probably be of the previous century also. The absence of marked detail, indeed of any detail whatever in the tower, which has been entirely stript of its ornamental stonework, prevents one speaking positively; there would, at any rate, however, be nothing incongruous in the supposition, since a residence of this character would be, as regards the arrangement of tower and hall, in each century the same.

The hall was the principal chamber of the building, thirty, forty, or fifty feet long, or even longer, by about half the breadth. At one end was the dais, a raised floor of one step, extending across the hall, where was placed the long table, at which the lord and his family, and any distinguished guests took their meals. At the other end of the hall were the entrances into the kitchen, buttery, cellar, and other offices; these were screened off from the hall by a massively-framed oaken partition, often handsomely carved and enriched, about ten or twelve feet high, so placed as to form a sufficiently spacious passage between it and the end wall. This partition also further served as a screen to the entrance from without; or rather entrances, for there were generally two, opposite each other, one at each side of the building. The hall was lighted by windows, somewhat high up in the wall for security, the one lighting the dais end, being larger and of handsomer design, often recessed, forming what is called a bay or oriel window, one of the most picturesque features of these old buildings. The roof was exposed to view, of massive timber, ingeniously constructed, beautifully enriched with elaborate mouldings and carvings, and of high pitch; in the centre of which rose a little graceful spirelet, called the louvre, open to the air, as a means of escape for the smoke from the fire which burnt on a hearth in the middle of the floor, the fuel being large logs supported on andirons or fire-dogs. Beautiful and very perfect specimens of these noble chambers are to be seen at Oxford and at Cambridge, in the dining halls of the different colleges.

In the hall the lord and his retainers partook of their meals; the lord, as I have said, with his family and distinguished guests, at one side of the long table on the dais, the retainers and guests of inferior degree

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degree at two long tables placed at right angles to the former down each side of the apartment. The hall was also used for the transaction of various matters of public business between the lord and his retainers. In it was held his royalty court or court baron; here too he received suit and service from his retainers; and here administered justice, according to the powers granted him from the Crown. In it, also, on the retirement of the lord and his family after the evening meal, the retainers passed the night, sleeping, without much change of dress, on the mattresses or quilts brought in for the purpose, and laid upon the thick covering of rushes with which the floor was strewn. The private apartments of the lord and his family communicated with the dais end of the hall by means of a narrow winding stone staircase. The first apartment reached was called the solar; it was built over a stone-vaulted cellar on the level of the hall, and its only approach was by the winding stair, at the foot of which, closing it from the hall, was a massive oak door, rendered doubly strong by cross bars of iron, or by a separate door of iron, ponderous bolts, and bars securing them from within. The solar was thus a chamber of great strength; proof against fire, and almost every other mode of assault. Above it was another chamber of the same size, reached by a continuation of the narrow winding stair:—and thus was formed that peculiar feature of the fortified residences of the gentry in this district, as well as of the border country generally,—the tower, also called the peel or pile. In it the lord and his family slept in security, and, indeed, at all times were safe against any ordinary attack. In cases where the house was besieged, and the outer defences were carried, the tower served as a refuge to which the defenders might etire, and hold out, perhaps, till succour arrived.

Such is a description of the hall, with its adjoining tower, in its earlier form. Such may have and most probably did exist here. Here may have been the stately hall with its open timbered roof, here the winding stair leading to the well-secured private chambers of the lord. But what we have at Burneside shows a modification of this earlier arrangement of the hall, which arose out of increasing refinement of manners. The lord, with his family and guests, as time went on and manners softened and luxury increased, dined apart from the retainers; a seperate chamber therefore was needed for the latter. A withdrawing-room also became requisite for the ladies of the family. This

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This alteration of the hall is what we find here:—A floor is introduced some nine or ten feet from the ground. The lower part served for the use of the retainers; above is the banquetting hall for the family, twenty-five and a half feet by twenty-two. The fire-place in the east wall, with its two shields, would tell by their charges, could we decipher them, which unhappily we cannot, the lord and his lady, under whom these alterations took place.* The windows and the old oak screen, brought up perhaps from below when the change was made, seem to point to the middle of the fifteenth century; glass was then costly, and it does not seem certain that these windows were originally glazed, they certainly were closed by wooden shutters, as may be seen by the rebate in the stone and the crooks on which the bands swung; and these may have formed, as was not unfrequently the case, down to and at that period, the only protection from the weather. A door pierced through the massive wall of the tower at the dais end, now walled up, gave the necessary communication with the lord's bed-chamber. A convenient staircase from the kitchen was now required, which we have, probably at this period, though its construction and details are poor in character. The withdrawing-room is found on the other side of the landing, over what doubtless was the kitchen. This chamber, though now divided, was of course originally one handsome apartment, about twenty-three feet by eighteen, and has had a beautifully ornamented plaster ceiling,† with a well-wrought cornice running underneath it, reminding one of the rooms at Levens, ornamented in a

* Machel (vol. ii of his MSS., p. 410) gives drawings of seventeen coats of arms from Burneside Hall. The two last he numbers 16 and 17, and says they are in stone above the hall chimney. 16 he draws as a shield charged with a fess and a bordure; 17—a bordure alone, and of it he writes:—"17 may seem to have been the arms of John Machel in a border." But Machel's conceit in his own family name makes this doubtful.—R. S. F.

† The ceiling is worked in large quatrefoils, of uniform size and pattern, and within each of them that remains is a vine with leaves and grapes treated in a conventional manner.

precisely

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precisely similar way. That the kitchen did exist (as I have pointed out) beneath it, is shewn, I think, by the massive wall—some five feet thick—fortunately revealed by a closet, which must have received the flue of its huge open fireplace, as well as afterwards that of the withdrawing-room and two other rooms. Out of the withdrawing-room (the doorway now stopped up) was a long chamber, twenty-four and a half feet by fourteen and a half. This I believe to have been the domestic chapel,* and I come to this conclusion, partly from its shape, the ornamented window in the east wall, its oaken roof, but more particularly from some fresco decoration still visible on the walls. Although nearly obliterated I have been able to make out two figures with scroll work between, one of which figures, from a mitre on the head, seems to represent a bishop; the other (crowned), a king. The window at the east end is two lighted, similar in character to those in the hall, erected, doubtless, at the same time and by the same lord. For security's sake this sacred chamber has been constructed over a vaulted cellar. At one end a fire-place appears afterwards to have been introduced, built up against the wall.

At the head of the stairs is a small bedroom, some ten feet by eight feet, in which used to stand an old bedstead, having the date 1684 carved upon it, but whether any initials I cannot say.

Returning to the hall we find at the dais end a door which communicated with the solar in the tower. This solar can only be reached now by a ladder from the outside. It must have been a fine chamber, some thirty-five and a half feet by twenty. The stonework of the windows has been entirely removed, and there are no other details from which a clue can be got to the period of its erection,

* Machel mentions four rooms, (1) the hall, (2) the old parlour or dining room, (3) the new dining room, (4) the gallery. The hall, by the two shields in stone over the chimney-piece is easily identified with what Mr. Weston calls the banquetting hall.

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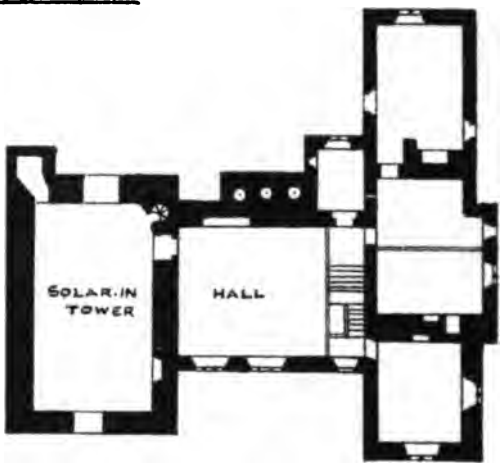
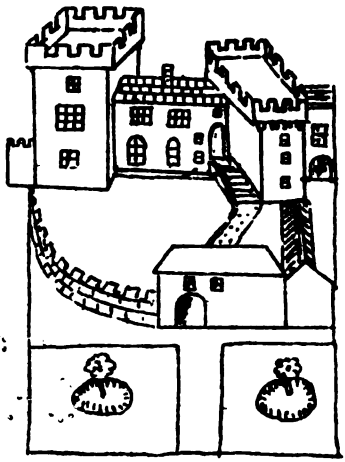
—BURNESIDE . HALL—



—FIRST FLOOR PLAN—



—ELEVATION—

From Machel's MSS. Vol. II. cir. 1692.

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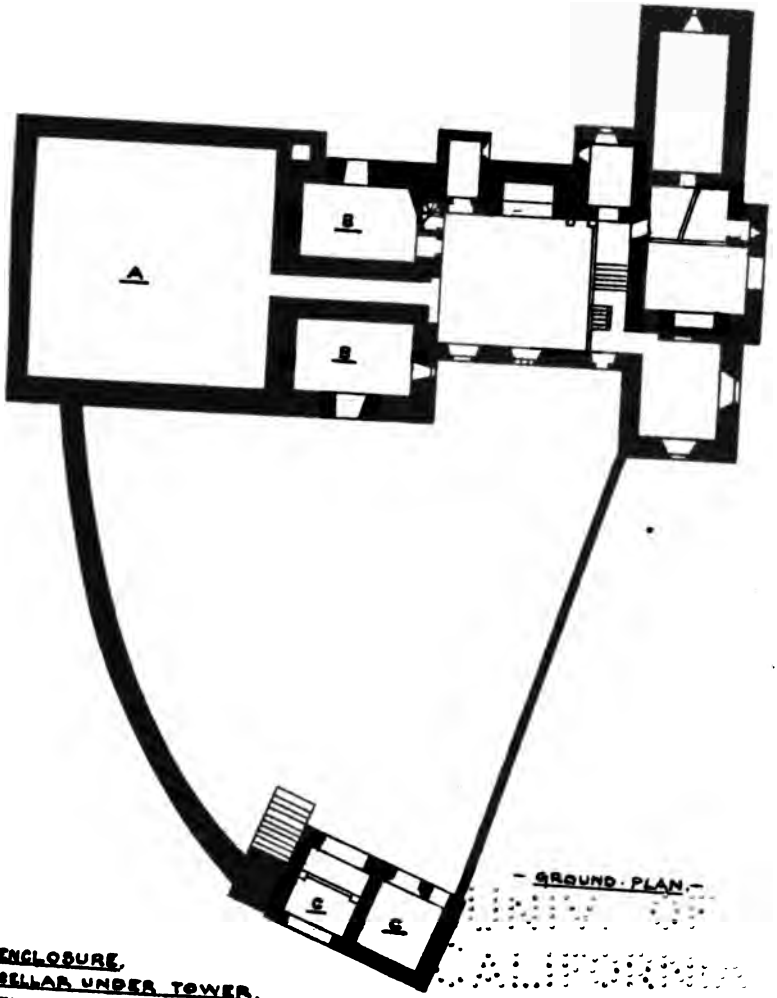
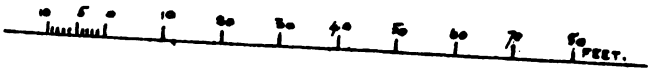
— BURNESIDE HALL. —



— GROUND PLAN. —

A...ENCLOSURE.
BB. CELLAR UNDER TOWER.
CC THE BARNEKIN.



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unless it be the fireplace, the arch of which, thrown over with rough rag-stones and finished with plaster or cement like that in the chapel, would seem to have been a four-centred one, and therefore of the fifteenth century. Above the solar is another chamber of the same dimensions, reached by a continuation of the winding stair, at the head of which are the remains of a little turret giving access to the flat leaded roof, with its protecting battlements so useful for defensive operations against a besieging enemy. Beneath the solar are two vaulted cellars divided by a narrow passage, all three communicating with the lower hall by well-wrought pointed doorways. That opening into the easternmost cellar is perfect, as well as that forming the entrance to the winding stair; but the other two have been interfered with by a modern fireplace, which has been inserted when the hall was divided into two rooms by a cross wall, and seems to have been constructed by removing the inner jambs of each door and allowing the other two to stand as the jambs of the fireplace. The original chimney was undoubtedly in the east wall, and a fine specimen of an open chimney, with its ingle nooks, it must have been, well able to do the double duty required of it, when the fireplace was inserted in the banqueting room above and the flue carried into the huge stack.

The double cellars with the passage between, under the solar, is somewhat unusual I think—one cellar only being generally found. The passage between gave access from the hall to what I judge has been a large walled enclosure some forty feet square.* In this I should think cattle and horses may have been driven for additional security, and against the north wall of the tower there seem traces of a line of weathering as if a lean-to roof had been erected

* The sketch of the hall given by Machel, vol. ii, p. 410, bears out Mr. Weston's conjecture. This enclosure is battlemented, and does not appear to have had an entrance into the court before the hall. Probably there was an external entrance on the north or east side. Cattle and horses could be thus secured within this enclosure, and attended to by the passage under the solar.—R. S. F.

against

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against it; there may have been a similar one on the other side of the court, two lines of sheds being thus formed, with a passage between, entered perhaps from without by a strongly-defended door. A similar court to this, with similar entrance from the building, may I think be traced in the interesting ruins of Lammerside Castle, near Kirkby Stephen. When this fine tower fell into a state of decay it is difficult to say. In fortified buildings of larger pretensions, the work of destruction is wont to be ascribed to the ruthless hand of Oliver Cromwell. To no such enemy, and in all probability to no enemy at all but time, is the work of ruin in the present case to be ascribed. The timber, though of heart of oak, would yield at last to the ravages of age. This might not occur till the advance of less warlike times rendered these strong places of refuge no longer needful; inconvenient for use, too massive to be pulled down, the lead would be stripped from the roof, the hewn work of stone and perhaps the timber would be removed and used in more convenient additions to the building, or sold; and the grim old walls would be left to stand and battle with storms and time as best they might.

The only portion of the house not yet noticed is the south-west wing. This is not in its original state; the original wall seems from the foundations (now covered up, but which I remember some years ago), to have been nearly two feet thicker than the present one; this would probably be one of the offices connected with the kitchen which it adjoins.

One portion of the old building, however, yet remains, to which I must draw your attention, which renders it a particularly valuable specimen of a border gentleman's residence, inasmuch as few, comparatively, still retain it —the outer wall of enclosure, called the Barnekin, with its entrance gateway. Of this, Machel,* who saw it in 1692,

* MSS. vol. 2, p. 410. "20 July, 1692.—Burnaside Hall. A pleasant seat upon a plane at the foote of an Hill wch rises wt an easy ascent like a woman's Bust.

says,

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says, "There was a moat, with a lodge and battlements, through which the ascent was." Of the wall a small part only, but without its battlements, is still standing. The gateway, however, with its massive oaken gates, the porter's room on the ground floor, and the guard-room above, is in good preservation. This wall, with its entrance gateway, formed the outer defence of every such residence, sometimes further strengthened by a moat outside. The gates secured, and the walls defended by a number of resolute well-armed men, protected by the battlements, an attacking force might be kept at bay for a considerable time, if not repulsed altogether. The time thus secured would avail for making the necessary arrangements for defence within the house, to which the defenders would retire if these outer works were carried by the foe.

A graphic account of the taking of one of these strongholds is given in Nicolson and Burn's History of Westmorland and Cumberland, vol. i, p. liii, from a manuscript narrative by Sir Thomas Carleton, of Carleton Hall, who conducted a foray into Scotland under the Lord Wharton, warder of the West Marshes:—

"Considering (he says) Canonby (a place in their possession) to be far from the enemy, . . . I thought it good to practise some way we might take some hold or castle where we might lie near the enemy, and to lie within our own strength in the night, where we might all lie down together and rise together. Thus practising, one Sandee Armstrong, son to ill Will Armstrong, came to me and told me he had a man called John Lynton, who was born in the head of Annerdale, near to the Loughwood, being the laird Johnston's chief house, and the said laird and his brother (being the Abbot of Salside) were taken prisoners not long before, and were remaining in England. It was a fair large tower, able to lodge all our company safely, with a

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And has as I guess been called Burnay from the Burne or Brooke that runneth by it And the place Burnaside from being at the side thereon. There is a Court with a Lodge & Battlement through which you ascend into the Hall when I met wth some coates of Arms & wth more in the Dineing room & parlour But wth most in the gallery. Before the Court is a large pond Intercepted with a passage or Causway up to the gate & on either side is a Little Iland a Tree planted In it." These are Machel's own words.—R. S. F.

barnekin,

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barnekin, hall, kitchen, and stables, all within the barnekin, and was but kept by two or three fellows and as many wenches. He thought it might be stolen in a morning at the opening of the tower door, which I required the said Sandee to practise, and as he thought good, either myself to go to it, or that he would take a company and give it a priefe (trial), with as much foresight to make it sure as was possible; for if we should make an offer and not get it, we had lost it for ever. At last it was agreed that we should go with the whole garrison. We came there about an hour before day, and the greater part of us lay without the barnekin; but about a dozen of the men got over the barnekin wall, and stole close into the house within the barnekin, and took the wenches and kept them secure till daylight. And at sun rising, two men and a woman being in the tower, one of the men rising in his shirt, and going to the tower head, and seeing nothing astir about, he called on the wench that lay in the tower, and bade her rise and open the tower door and call up them that lay beneath. She so doing, and opening the iron door, and a wood door without it, our men within the barnekin brake a little too soon to the door; for the wench perceiving them, leaped back into the tower, and had gotten almost the wood door to, but one got hold of it that she could not get it close to; so the skirmish rose, and we over the barnekin and broke open the wood door, and she being troubled with the wood door left the iron door open, and so we entered and won the Loughwood, where we found truly the house well purveyed for beef salted, malt big (barley), havermeal, butter, and cheese."

Here we have the barnekin wall which the assailants, being unopposed, found no difficulty in scaling. Here we have the fair large tower, the hall, kitchen, and the stable (if I am right in my conjecture), all within the barnekin. After scaling the barnekin wall the men stealthily approached the house, and being unperceived, entered it, and secured the two or three women who alone were in that part of the building. It is a wonder that women thus surprised did not make a sufficient outcry to alarm the men who were in the tower; however, it appears they did not, for the latter slept on undisturbed, and one of them at sunrising, ascending to the top of the tower to reconnoitre, and finding no cause for alarm, gave orders for the opening of the tower door, the one, no doubt, communicating with

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with the house at the foot of the winding stair, in order that the other women might be called. For security's sake, the door here was double, the outer one, next the hall, being of massive oak, the inner, a strong framework of crossed iron bars such as may still be seen at Dalston Hall, Cumberland. When in the act of opening the outer door, the men, who must have remained all this time excessively quiet, sprang from their ambush, intercepted the closing of the door again, overpowered the poor girl, whose presence of mind seems to have failed her, and prevented her closing the inner iron door, and so got possession of the tower; or, victualled as it was with an ample store of provision in the cellar (to which the winding stair gave them secure access), it might have defied any efforts of the assailants to take it.

This interesting specimen of a border stronghold continued to be occupied by the Bellinghams till somewhere about 1525. It was then sold by the second Sir Robert Bellingham to Sir Thomas Clifford, who, according to Sir Daniel Le Fleming's papers, sold it to one Fitzwilliam, who again sold it to Machell of Kendal. Machell sold it to Robert Braithwaite of Ambleside, and this brought the family of Braithwaite to Burneside, in which it continued, as it had previously in that of the Bellinghams, for seven successive generations, when it was sold about 1750 to a Mr. Thomas Shepherd. He seems to have sold it again piecemeal; one part of the demesne, including the Hall, to Christopher Wilson of Bardsea; another, called Cowan Head, to Lady Fleming, and the manor to Sir James Lowther. Christopher Wilson settled his portion of the estate upon his daughter Sarah, on her marriage with John Gale, Esq., of Whitehaven, from whom it descended to their son, Wilson Gale, who succeeded, by will, to the property of his cousin, Thomas Braddyll of Conishead Priory, and therefore took the surname and arms of Braddyll. The Burneside Hall estate thus fell into the hands

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hands of the Braddyll family, in which it remained until the year 1842, when it was sold to John Brunskill, Esq., of Lambrigg Foot.

APPENDIX.

Machel gives drawings, partially tricked and partially supplemented by written description, of seventeen coats of arms at Burneside Hall:—

1.—Described below in Machel's notes.
2.—Being Braithwaite impaling Williamson.
3.—Braithwaite impaling Bindloss, viz., quarterly per fess indented and per pale Or and Gules; on a bend azure a cinquefoil between two martlets of the first.
4.—Braithwaite (differenced by a crescent) impaling Benson, Argent, on a chevron sable, three cross crosslets Or.
5.—Bradley, sable a fess and a border engrailed, in chief a mullet between two cross crosslets Or, impaling Braithwaite.
6.—Benson (ut supra) impaling Braithwaite.
7.—Briggs (Barruly, Or and sable, a canton of the first), impaling Braithwaite.
8.—Braithwaite impaling Dalston, a chevron engrailed between three daws heads, no colour.
9.—Braithwaite impaling Lawson, as in Machel's notes below.
10.—Lamplugh, Or a cross fleurie sable, impaling Braithwaite.
11.—Barton, as in Machel's notes below, impaling Braithwaite.
12.—Salkeld, vert fretty argent, impaling Braithwaite.
13.—Brisco, three greyhounds current (no colours), impaling Braithwaite.
14.—Askough, as in Machel's notes below, impaling Braithwaite.
15.—Braithwaite impaling Penruddock, as in Machel's notes below.
16.—A shield having a fess and a border.
17.—A shield with a border.

Machel's drawing of No. 1 show it in an oval compartment with the date 1628 under it. He also shows the coat "marked 2" as in an oval; the inscription seems to be "Braithwaite Williamson," which is indicated rather than given. The oval is filled up with foliage, and what at first sight seems a crest, like a flower pot of ferns, but which is only ornament. Machel's notes are as follows:—

"1. The 1 is in the new Dineing Roome, Gules a chevron Argent charged with 3 cross-crosslets sable & in chief for distinction of a second House a Crescent Or. The bust a greyhound seiant Art collar Or Leased Gules by the name of Braithwaite. All the rest (except the 2 last wch are in stone above the Hall chimney) are in the gallery window, and have all compartments about them & Inscriptions under them like the coate marked 2 wch is Braithwaite impaleing Williamson who Bears Argent Between 3 Trefoils slipt a chevron ingrailed charged with 3 crescents Or,

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Or. The 9th Braithwaite impaling a Quarterly coat whereof the 1st & 4th Argent a chevron between 3 martlets Sable by the name of Lawson 2 & 3 Barry of six Arg. & Az. 3 Annulets in chief of the 2nd by the name of Lawson. The 11 Barton bears (if this be right) Quarterly 1 Ermine on a fess gules 3 annulets Or—the 2nd Paly of six Arg and vert, the 3 gules between 2 Bends or & ar 3 Lioncels pt arg the 4 gules a chevron Art charged with 3 hurts inter 3 fleur-de-lis Or. The 14 is Sable a fess or inter 3 horses sistant argent by the name of Askew. The 16 (*sic* in Machel) Impaled with Quarterly 1, Gules a ragged staff Argent 2 Sandford a Bore's head Or. 3, Sable 6 Annulets Or perhaps Lowther. The 4 a fess between 3 martlets. The 17 may seen have been the arms of John Machel in a Border. Taken 20 July 1692."*

In the margin are the following notes:—

"In the old Parlour or Dineing room are ye same wth the 3 & 9th upon the wainscot And the same with the 1st in Plaster with a Crescent & the year of our Lord 1641.

In the Hall upon smal Diamond quarries of glas are two coates the same wth the 1st charged with a Crescent.

And also the same with the coat marked 3 wavy for its Crest a Demy Horse Couped with a Ducall flourished Collar Azure Belonging Bindloss of Borrick."

The coats of arms can be assigned to their owners. No. 2 is that of Robert Braithwaite, of Ambleside, who was the purchaser of Burneside, and married Williamson. No 3 to 7 are those of his two sons, Thomas and James, and three daughters. 8, 9, 10, and 11, of his grandchildren by his eldest son Thomas. 12, 13, 14, of his granddaughters by a third son Gawen. 15 of his grandson Gawen by his second son James. [See St. George's Visitation of Westmorland.] The coat of arms in plaster is not in existence.

* Nos. 16 and 17 are now mere whitewashed blanks, one of which has a line across it fesswise.

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ART. X.—*Notes on High House in Hugill.* By J. HOLME NICHOLSON, Owens College, Manchester.

Visited July 8th, 1881.

AT High House in Hugill, the Society, in its excursion on the 8th July, came upon an interesting memorial of its occupation by some of the Brathwaite family, whose chief seat at Burneshead the party had visited just previously. This consisted of three panes of painted glass in the window of the principal sitting room, filled with heraldic designs in a bold style of execution.

The two side panes were divided saltire-wise into four lozenge-shaped compartments. That to the left contained in the upper lozenge the Royal crown and crest; in the lower, a portcullis surmounted by a crown, one of the Tudor badges. In the left hand lozenge were the initials $^{T}_{E}{}^{I}$ and in the right hand one the date 1562. The pane to the right hand was divided in like manner; the upper lozenge contained a shield party per fesse az. and arg. nebulée, in chief the head and bust of the Virgin rayed or, a bordure nebulée, the lower the arms which according to Edward Knight, Norroy King of arms, the Brathwaites of Ambleside had long borne, viz.: gu. on a chevron arg. three cross crosslets fitchée sa., with a crescent for cadency, surmounted by the crest which the said Norroy granted to Sir Thomas Brathwaite, knt., of Burneshead and Warcop, in 1591, viz., a greyhound couchant arg. his collar and lyne gu. The lozenge to the left was filled with the rose of England, and the one to the right with a fleur-de-lis, each of these emblems being surmounted by a crown.

The centre pane contained a quartered shield as follows:—1st and 4th, a bugle horn and baudric sa.; 2nd and 3rd, the arms of Brathwaite described above; crest also as above; beneath, the motto, "VITA UT HERBA." Grant

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Grant and confirmation of the arms in the 1st and 4th quarters were made to Thomas Brathwaite, of Ambleside, by William Segar, Norroy, in the last of Elizabeth, 1602-3, who like his predecessor, Knight, with respect to the other Brathwaite bearings, assigns them as the arms borne by the family in past times, and asserts that the horn within an escutcheon having inscriptions of their name thereabout was on the seals appended to very many old deeds produced before him. This Thomas Brathwaite was the nephew of Sir Thomas above mentioned, and, though the possessor of the original family estates at Ambleside, the heir of the second son.

The confirmation of two very different arms to families of the same lineage within so short a period as twelve years, and both pronounced to be the ancient arms of the family, is not a little remarkable, and not easily to be accounted for.

One can hardly conceive that the younger Thomas, who was on such intimate terms with his uncle as to be made a supervisor of his will, should be ignorant of the grant and confirmation made to him. It is a curious coincidence that the arms of the Bellinghams of Burneshead, whose estate afterwards passed into the possession of the Brathwaites, were identical with the later grant, or confirmation, in 1602-3, with a slight difference in blazon which would not be distinguishable on a seal. The Bellinghams were originally from Tynedale, where, if I mistake not, they held a forestership. The bugle horn would have distinct reference to this office. It is possible that the ancient deeds produced before Segar were some of the old Bellingham muniments, and that of the name circumscribed on the seals, the only really legible letter was the initial B common to both names.

The *quartering* of the two Brathwaite arms in the centre pane is also somewhat puzzling. Quartering is only allowable in two cases—first, to the issue of an heiress entitled to

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to arms; and second, by special grant, in such cases, for instance, as when a man, having succeeded to large estates, is allowed to quarter the arms of a former possessor with his own. No such alliance between the Burneshead and Ambleside branches is recorded, nor does it appear that the two estates merged into the hands of representatives of either branch.

The motto is an anagram of the family name, which we owe to the ingenuity of Richard Brathwaite, second son of Sir Thomas Brathwaite, the purchaser of Warcop, and the probable author of "Barnabee's Journal," more certainly of many other poetical effusions of less note. It is one of the subjects in his "Remains after Death, &c."

'In Anagramma quod sibi ipsi composuit et Annulo inscripsit—

Brathwaite
Vita ut herba

Vita ut Herba tuum est Anagramma, tuaq'; sub urna
Hoc videam, brevis est vita, sed herba levis,
Annulus hoc tenuit, namq'; Annulus arctus ut annus,
Quo (velut afflatu) fata futura refers."

The date 1562 cannot be that of the insertion of these panes. Supposing even that both these arms were in use by the Brathwaite family before the date of the "confirmations," it is distinctly stated in the grant of 1591 that the grantee, "not knowing of any crest or cognizance meet and lawful to be borne without prejudice or offence to any other person or persons," he, the said Norroy, does assign him the crest mentioned in the grant, viz.—a greyhound. The publication in which Richard Brathwaite's Anagram and elegiac verse are given appeared in 1619.

The Hugill property would be acquired by the Brathwaites not earlier probably than the beginning of the seventeenth century, for it is expressly stated in the will of Gawen Brathwaite, the younger brother of Thomas, dated 14th January, 1653, with codicil annexed of the 21st February,

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February, 1655, that he " gives ratifies and confirms unto his son Robert and his heires all those landes and tenements which he formerlie bought for him at Hugill and Baysbrowne." Robert Brathwaite, of High House, Hugill, and Baysbrowne, married Bridget, daughter of Henry Fletcher of Moresby, and left a daughter, Dorothy, who married Miles Atkinson, and their descendants continued in possession of Baysbrowne for a considerable time. Hugill may have passed to another family. Mr. J. J. Addison, the present possessor of Hugill, kindly undertook to prosecute inquiries as to the possessors subsequent to the Brathwaites, with a view to the discovery of the persons to whom the initials refer. He found that Robert Braithwaite was resident there in 1672, but the Court Rolls prior to 1750 are very meagre and yield no information to guide us to a conclusion.

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ART. XI.—*On a Cup-marked Stone found at Redhills, near Penrith.* By MICHAEL W. TAYLOR, M.D., F.S.A. (Scot).

Read at Kendal, July 7th, 1881.

THE attention of archæologists has been specially directed during recent years to a species of rude sculpturing of stones and of rock-markings which from time to time have been discovered in different localities. These markings are incised or cut into the surface of the stone or rock, and assume usually the form of hollow cups or pits, oftentimes associated with incised concentric rings, and longitudinal or curved lines furrowed on the surface of the stone. The sculpturings are invariably of rude primitive workmanship, and evidently pertain to a very early age antecedent to the period of lettering. The hilly country of North Northumberland was the district in which they were observed in greatest numbers. They were first explored by the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, and they were very fully described and illustrated by Mr. George Tate, F.G.S., Alnwick, in 1865, in a monograph "On the Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland." A description of these peculiar sculpturings was given also by the Rev. Canon Greenwell at the meeting of the Archæological Institute,* at Newcastle, in 1852. Professor James Y. Simpson entered ardently in pursuit of cup-marked stones in Scotland and elsewhere, and produced the fruits of his labours in 1867, in an exhaustive and beautifully illustrated essay "On the Sculpturing of Cups and Concentric Rings on Stones and Rocks in various parts of Scotland, &c." As recently as May, 1881, Mr. William Jolly, H.M. Inspector of Schools, Inverness, brought before

* The paper containing the result of the Rev. Canon Greenwell's observations was, I believe, lost, or was never published.

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the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, notices of a number of other undescribed stones with similar markings, which have since been found in the North Highlands.

These lapidary inscriptions are not unknown in Cumberland and Westmorland. Several years ago (in 1835) Sir Gardner Wilkinson discovered a concentric circle with four rings around a cupped centre on the face of "Long Meg," in the Salkeld circle.† I accompanied Sir James Simpson in one of his visits to Long Meg, when he examined the stone, and he found not one but several concentric circles carved upon it, which he has described and figured in his book from a photograph. Three or four of them are low down on the stone and much faded; they consist of circles of three and four rings with radial grooves.

About the same time, the Rev. Canon Simpson found some ring cuttings on two boulders forming part of a circle of eleven stones around a short cist in a large cairn, situated a few hundred yards to the east of Long Meg. On two of the stones still standing, which formed part of the long avenue which formerly existed at Shap, ring cuttings are observed, and have been figured by Sir James Simpson. One of them, a massive block, partly prostrate in Asper's field, presents two cuttings. One cup, six and a-half inches broad, and one inch and a-half deep, and a second cup, nearly three inches in breadth, three-quarters of an inch deep, with a single circle nine inches in diameter cut round it. On the "Goggleby Stone," standing about 150 yards south of the above-mentioned monolith, there is carved a circular disc, five inches broad.

At the meeting of this Society at Kendal during the present year a visit was made to the site of an ancient British camp, or fortified village, on the high ground of Hugill, in the Staveley district. Within the walled enclosure, and not far from the remains of the hut circles and

† See Journal of the British Archæological Association, 1864.

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hollowed out excavations of the olden inhabitants, there are several boulders to be seen of considerable dimensions. It is possible that these may have been concerned in marking the place of burial of the ancient dead. On the face of one of these stones which is overthrown and laying prostrate, and partially buried, I noted the presence of an isolated cup-excavation, which appears to me to have been distinctly tooled by the hand of man, and not the product of natural disintegration or weathering. This cutting is of a regular rounded form, about an inch and a quarter in diameter, smooth on its surface, and excavated to nearly an inch in depth. It is not encircled by any ring cutting.

It is mentioned by Hutchinson* that during the last century an example of lapidary circles was found on two cobble stones, which formed the west end of a cist, which was discovered in opening a barrow near Aspatria. The sculptures consisted of single and double rings, some with cups and others with crosses in their centres. The cist contained a skeleton and the remains of a long iron sword and battle-axe, and a number of other articles in silver and gold. The find, however, was apochryphal in relation to Keltic forms of inscription, for, in the lapidary rings, according to the description, the "rims and crosses within them are cut in relief"—raised and not incised. This has probably been a Scandinavian grave.

The most remarkable cup-marked stone in Cumberland was discovered in the spring of this year at Redhills, in the Township of Stainton, about two miles from Penrith. As I was concerned in the disinterment of this stone, I feel it my duty to give a notice of it to this Society. On April 27th, some men in the employment of Mr. Jacques, the farmer at Redhills, were employed in sinking holes for a line of posts or wire fencing. This was for the purpose of fencing off from the arable land a portion of rocky pastural

* Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, vol. ii., p. 288.

ground,

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UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

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CUP-MARKED SLAB, REDHILLS, PENRITH.

Scale: — 1 *inch to a foot.*

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ground, which forms the hill called Stainton Banks, which courses along the left bank of the River Eamont. In carrying out this line of fencing, the men struck a large slab of freestone, lying about ten inches under the surface. When this stone was uncovered and tilted back, it was found that the under surface was sculptured with curious markings, and underneath it appeared a quantity of bones and charcoal. I visited it the same afternoon, and with the assistance of Mr. Jaques and his men, a further exploration of the place was made. The grave had been sunk by quarrying in the limestone rock, which over this area is very near the natural surface; the space so excavated in the rock is about four feet by three feet six inches, with a depth of three feet, and the axis lies N.E. by E., and S.W. by W. Cobble stones have been used partially to line this cavity, but there is no flagging at the sides or bottom. The space is filled with loose soil, much of it of a blackish colour, amid which were detected some small pieces of burnt wood, and a quantity of calcined bones, all in a very fragmentary state. The corpse had not been cremated in or over the grave apparently, as neither the stones nor soil shewed evidence of fire, and the amount of charcoal was very limited, and had probably been introduced along with the cremated remains. No urn, nor remains of pottery, nor of implements were discovered. No barrow nor mound of earth covered this grave, although there were the remains of what seems to have been a round cairn to be traced on the slope of the hill, three hundred yards to the south. I found also near the top of the hill, not very far distant, what might be the remains of a small sepulchral circle, with some of the stones partially buried. There are excavated lines, possibly of old habitations, along the side of this hill towards the river, and the place is known in the neighbourhood under the name of Little Stainton. The principal interest in the discovery lay in the remarkable sculpture exhibited by the under surface of the cover stone. The

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The stone consists of a block of white freestone. It has not been quarried, and many such slabs are found projecting on this hill of Stainton Banks, which is of the limestone formation. It is of a broadly ovoid form, and pretty regular shape. From end to end it measures 5 feet 4 inches, and from side to side at the centre 3 feet 6 inches, and tapering towards each end; it varies from 8 inches to 13 inches in thickness. The upper surface is rough and irregular, and scored longitudinally in many places with the marks of the plough-share and harrows, which have passed over it in frequent cultivation. The inferior surface which was presented towards the earth, shows a fairly smooth cleavage, and on it were carved the sculptural markings which I shall describe.

The tooling of these excavations may be said to display four types. First, Cup-shaped hollows of various sizes and depths. Second, Central hollowed cones surrounded by two concentric circles, not complete, but bisected by a radial groove. Third, Hollowed out channels, like gutters, running in various directions. Fourth, Little pits or depressions picked out in the stone. As I have said, the stone was broken in several pieces, but I have adjusted these and joined them as carefully as possible, and placed the stone upright, and now tolerably entire, against a north wall, so that it may be fairly photographed. In viewing it with a proper light, the sculpturings may be well made out, and appear to be arranged as follows:—Near the bottom, there is a central cup deeply carved, about 3 inches in diameter, from which proceed on each side two grooves, 6 inches long, which join two similar cups lying transversely in a straight line. Round the central cup are described two concentric rings, somewhat faintly incised. From this lowest line of cups, three gutters meander upwards over the surface of the slab; the main one takes a curved direction upwards on the right side of the stone, and receives a number of branches like the tributaries of a river from each side, and terminates on the free margin of the upper part of the stone. On the lower quarter of the stone, to the right, there is a large hollow cup, 3 inches in diameter, round which there are two well-executed concentric rings, the outermost of which has a diameter of 6 inches; these are cut by a radial groove, which joins the central gutter, and, in the opposite direction, at a point in their circumference, the circles fall into, and are subtended by, the side channel. There are only two cuttings with this annular arrangement on the slab; on the other hand, the simple cup cuttings are numerous, in fact, twenty-four may be counted. One of these cups is greatly larger than any of the rest; it is situated in the centre of the upper half of the stone, and on the first view it forms the most strikingly characteristic feature of the tablet.

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tablet. This cup is 6 inches in diameter, and it is carved out into a regular conical cavity, to the depth of 3 inches. The chisel marks are distinct and fresh, as if done yesterday, and there is a smoothness and regularity about it which shew that it has been executed with greater care than some of the other incised parts. The other cup-markings vary from 1 inch to 3 inches in measurement. A number of them (about twelve of them may be counted) are associated with the furrowed lines, either forming the beginning of a gutter, or joining or being included in the line of the channel itself. These form the series of the larger cup markings, and are an inch or more in depth. On the other hand, other of these cups are isolated, and scattered singly, and apparently without regular order, over the surface, and unconnected with the branch-like lines; these, for the most part, are more shallow depressions, and with less defined margins. Again, there is another class of markings on the stone; these are little pits or peck-marks, small irregular holes picked in the stone; they are very numerous, and are dispersed apparently irregularly over all the surface. I believe that these markings have been chipped or picked out, and are not, as some might suppose, the result of natural weathering, or from the solution or erosion of little spheroidal nodules in the sandstone of a more perishable mineral material.

It would be interesting to be able to define the kind of tool wherewith these incisions were made, whether of stone or metal? The determination of this point would assist us in estimating the antiquity of this peculiar practice of cup-marking. Judging from the tool-marks quite patent on the large hollowed cone on this stone, I am of opinion that they have been made by a flat-edged chisel, driven with a mallet. The indentations succeed each other so regularly, and in successive lines, as to indicate hewing, or chipping, with the tool applied to the place, and not by the irregular stroke of a pointed pick. The hollow certainly has not been excavated by any rubbing process by a flint or harder stone. But I believe it is quite possible that the instrument used may have been a flint chisel. Sir James Simpson set a man to work with a flint celt and a wooden mallet, and he executed in about two hours, and without difficulty, a circle, even on hard Aberdeen granite. So that it by no means follows, that the presence of ring and cup sculpturing, even on the harder and more primitive rocks, implies a knowledge of metallic tools on the part of the people who inscribed them. This stone is a moderately soft sandstone, and would be by no means difficult to cut with a flint instrument, so that so far as the evidence goes in this respect, it is as likely as not, that these archaic cuttings may have been fashioned during the stone age. Nevertheless there is nothing in the appearance of these incisions, which

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might not have been achievable by the use of a metallic tool. So that really in this respect the evidence is negative.

This stone, as has been stated, was connected with a place of human sepulture; it was the cover of a kistvaen: but here also the digging out the contents of the grave afforded only negative results, any further than a knowledge that it was an interment by cremation, as was shown by the charcoal and fragments of burnt bones. No cranium, no urn, no implement was there, to afford a clue towards the determination of the ethnological type of the individual, or of the age in which he lived. I am inclined to believe that the people who carved out the rock markings and lapidary sculptures belonged to an earlier race than the brachy-cephalic or round-headed folk, to whom appertained the majority of the round barrows, and circular cairns; for during the last forty years multitudes of such tumuli have been diligently examined, and it is comparatively rare to find cup and ring markings associated with this particular kind of sepulture. Speaking of Cumberland and Westmorland, I am aware at the present moment of only one other example besides this Stainton stone, in which cup-markings have been found in concurrence with a round barrow and a kist-vaen. This exception occurred in two of the stones bounding the Maughanby cairn before alluded to, which contained a semi-ovoid cist with an urn and burnt bones. One of these stones is in my possession.

There is, perhaps, not a more numerous or more important series of diggings amongst British interments than those in which the Rev. Canon Greenwell has been engaged for several years, the results of which are faithfully given in his important work, "British Barrows." In a cursory examination of that production, I do not find out of 234 barrows, about which the details are recorded, more than four or five in which the presence of cup-marked stones have been noted. One of these occurred in Yorkshire, in the

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the parish of Kilburn, and the remainder in Northumberland, and these always in connection with urn burial.

Again, North Northumberland is the sphere ground in Great Britain, most fertile in these sculptured stones, whilst at the same time it is a district in which sepulchral remains occur in great profusion. Tate states, that from his survey, fifty-three sculptured stones were found in that district, all of them more or less associated with ancient British occupancy. But out of this number, four of them only formed covers of cists, and four were *probably* covers of cists, the rest were in or near British camps; and he observes, that the relation of these carved stones to camps, hut-circles, and occupied places, is more apparent than to the sepulchres of these races.

Again, Sir James Simpson, in his monograph on the subject of sculptured stones, has collected accounts of lapidary inscriptions in about forty-three different localities in Great Britain, yet in only seven were these carvings found associated with the round-shaped tumulus, or appearing on the covers of kist-vaens; the rest were observed inscribed on standing stones, monoliths, megalethic circles and cromlechs, and on the rocks in the neighbourhood of ancient camps and towns.

The opinion prevails amongst Archæologists that the builders of the megalithic circles, and the passage graves, and chambered tumuli, and those who erected the cyclopean cromlechs and monolithic monuments, were an early race of people, who preceded the Celts in this country, and that it is probable that the dolicho-cephalic or long-headed type of skull, associated with a moderate or inferior stature, pertained to this early people, who are supposed to have been of Semitic descent.

Now, it certainly is in connection with these archaic and cyclopean monuments in Great Britain, and particularly in Ireland, Brittany and Scandinavia, that these forms of sculpturings are more frequently found. The people who disposed

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disposed of their dead in the round barrows or cairns do not seem to have been given to the practice of carving out these mysterious symbols, the significance of which yet remains an enigma to the Archæologist. At least, I have endeavoured to shew the proportionate unfrequency of these cuttings amid the particular forms of sepulchral tumuli which are supposed to appertain to the epoch of the late Celts.

Hence, we presume then that these remarkable products of primitive handicraft have been the works of an earlier race—of that population to whom belonged the giant catacombs and archaic structures—of the patient workers with hammers and chisels fashioned from flint, jade, serpentine and other hard stones—of men, whose light hands and nimble fingers may have possessed the deftness and cunning of their Eastern prototypes, and on whose minds may still have lingered the traditions of an Eastern symbolism, of which the key is lost to us.

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ART. XII.—*The Mesne Manor of Thornflat.*—By W. JACKSON, F.S.A.

Read at Egremont, August 30th, 1881.

THE information with regard to the Manor of Drigg, given in Nicolson and Burn's History of Cumberland, is most meagre and unsatisfactory. It seems to have been parcelled out at an early period; one portion of it, by purchase of Sir William Pennington from Sir Nicholas Curwen early in the seventeenth century, came into possession of the Muncaster family, and so remains. The Mesne Manor of Thornflat is held under that portion of the Manor of Drigg, as that in turn is held under the Barony of Egremont. It consists of about 120 acres, rather more than 100 of which is the Lords Demesne; 15¼ is a customary tenement, at an annual rent of 7s., and a fine at death of lord and tenant or alienation of £7; and another of about 3¾ acres, paying on similar occasions 2s. and £2. Surely this is a good specimen of the feudal system in microcosm; and it might be said of the lord of this province, as it has been by Beranger of the Roi d' Yvetôt:—

Qu'il faisait ses quatre repas
Dans son palais de chaume,
Et sur un âne pas à pas
Parcourait son royaume;
Joyeux simple et croyant le bien,
Pour toute garde il n'avait rien
Qu' un chien
Quel bon petit roi c'était la.

But William Thomson, although he was placed in a position somewhat similar to the petty King of Beranger's song, was by no means a man of frivolous character. The little information we have of him is indirect, and acquired entirely from a note-book, from which, by the kindness of his

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his descendants, who still own this interesting property, I am allowed to make extracts. It is a record of his doings as an active Justice of the Peace from October 27th, 1656, to some time in the year 1659, and contains a list of 90 marriages performed by him between November 14th, 1656, and December 14th, 1657. Between the former date and August 10th, 1658, he issued about 120 warrants, and over 130 recognizances were entered into before him. He was, I suspect, a lawyer; scarcely, I should think, a royalist; for I am inclined to believe, apart from the respect in which he was probably held, that the way he was resorted to by all classes for any of the services which it was his duty to render, arose mainly from the fact that the various gentlemen who under ordinary circumstances would have been in the commission of the peace were too much attached to the royal cause to be trusted in that capacity, and hence that his dwelling at Thornflat was the centre to which lovers resorted to tie the indissoluble knot; others to apply for warrants; and again that others were reluctantly compelled to appear before him to be bound over to keep the peace, or to appear on other occasions for a region extending from Dalton on the south to Ennerdale on the north. I have mentioned him as officiating at marriages; and it is perhaps necessary to explain that by an Act passed August 14th, 1653, "Registers" were to be appointed for every parish, to whom were to be delivered twenty-one days before such intended marriage, the names of the respective parties, where each party to be married lived, the names, surnames, additions, and places of abode of the parties to be married, and of their parents, guardians, and overseers, all which the said Registrar should publish three Lord's Days then next following at the close of the morning exercises in the public meeting places, or, if the parties desired it, in the Market-place next to the said church and chapel, on three market-days in three several weeks next following between the hours of eleven and two, which

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which done, the Registrar should make a certificate thereof, without which the persons thereinafter authorised should not proceed in such marriage. That such persons intending to be married should come before some Justices of the Peace of the same county, city, or town, with such certificate;" then follows the form of words to be repeated by the man and woman, closely resembling that used by the Society of Friends. The ancient Registers were placed in the hands of these so-called "Registers," into which, or in continuation of which, they were to make entries of all marriages, &c., births and burials, a duty which I am afraid in many instances they performed in a slovenly and most unsatisfactory manner. As a rule, the couples desiring to be joined together presented themselves at Thornflat, and on more than one occasion more than a single couple came for that purpose; sometimes Mr. Thomson seems to have attended at the house of one or other of the contracting parties, and, puritan though he might be, he must have joined in the festivities which could not fail to be associated with the happy occasion. On November 9, 1657, he performed no less than five marriages of couples all belonging to Saint Bees, and I think at that place, though the entry says only "performed before me," and does not say where. The form of entry in the book varies, for the writer ceases to enter the names of the witnesses, but never omits to state what "Register" certifies. The following is a specimen entry of the complete form, and is the first in the book:—

"The 15th day of November, 1656, was Robert Russell and Mary Besbrowne, of Whitehaven, marryed before me at Thornflatt, in the presence of John Brockbancke, Willm Troughton, and Richard Thomson, John Wennington's certificate dated the 12th of this month."

Mr. Thomson, with a due regard to the importance of the Act he was authorised to perform, prefixes to his list of marriages a copy of the register's certificate, to be presented to him authorising him to marry:—

"These

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"These are to certifie those whom it may concern, that the intended marriage between A. B., of the parish of D. w'thin the county of E., of the one part, and E. J., of the pish of L., in the sayd county, of the other part, have been by me 3 several Lord's dayes together last past published in the pish church of D. aforesaid, according to the late Act of Pleament in that case provided. And noe exception have been taken against the same. Given under my hand the 19th of May, 1657. W. P., parish register."

The form of justice's certificate was: —

"I, W. T., one of the justices of the peace wthin the county of C., doe certify that this 3 of July, 1657, J. S. of the parish of E., and T. R., of the parish of D., both wthin the said county, were at T. duly marryed before me according to the late Act of Parliament. Witnesse my hand and seale the day and yeare above sayd. Witnesses of sayd marryages, W. T, C. D., and E. F."

As anything like a complete list of the "Registers" may be irrecoverable from any other sources, I append the names and respective parishes of the "Parish Registers," upon whose certificates William Thomson acted between Oct. 27th, 1656 and December 14th, 1657: —

Whicham, John Wennington and John Muncaster; Haile, John Vickars and William Wilson; Dalton, George Postlethwaite: Ponsonby, Barnard Swainson; Saint Bees, Henry Bigrigg; Irton, Alexander Hayton and John Eilbeck; Gosforth, Henry Ben; Whitbeck, John Muncaster; Broughton, John Parker; Egremont, Thomas Pearson; Drigg, William Parke; Bootle, Edmund Coats; Wastdale, Nicholson Dixon and John Parker; Millom, John Wennington; Ulpha, John Wennington; St. Bridgett's, John Vickars; Muncaster, Henry Willson and Thomas Wilson; Inerdale, John Frear; Grissmere, John Benson; Corney, William Jackson; Arlecdon, Thomas Wood; Lamplugh, Pickering Hewer.

The warrants are, naturally, for similar assaults or peccadilloes as such documents are issued for at the present day: —

"Annas Hunter, November 14, 1656, pays 2s. for one against Richard, her husband, for peace."

Another form of family quarrel is recorded as follows: —

"Feb. 12, Joseph Hodgson, of Weddicar, for peace against Joseph Steel, his son-in-law."

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A third warrant, issued April 20th, 1657, is for a more serious offence:—

"Hugh Hodgean, of Whitesham, against Edmond Myres, George Canny, and Thomas Taylour of Thwaites, for the breaking of his house, and taking £20 in moneys and other goods forth of the same the 16th of this instant, April."

On June 31, 1657, John Moore, of Irton, gets a warrant against his

"Printice, John Tyson, for departing from his services."

On the other hand,

"May 7, Henry Boyradell obtains a warrant against his master, Joseph Bebie, for immoderately beating him."

Another entry of a more serious nature, on July 15th of the same year:—

"Anthony Fox and Ralfe Kitchen, of Millom, Joseph complained that the said persons did, at Thwaites, within his Constablewick, rioatously assault and beat him with staffes, pitchforks, and other weapons, against the peace of his highness the Lord Protector, and is bound in £20 to prosecute his said information at the next sessions."

I observe (not without satisfaction, for it says something for progress,) that assaults were more common among what we call the "superior classes" then than now. John Bird, of Egremont, "cleark," gets a warrant of peace on May 31st, 1659, against Isack Antrobus, John Thomson, Henry Walker, and Nicholas Bragg, and it appears that the much decried system of cross summonses flourished so long ago as in these good old times, for on June 2nd, Isak Antrobus gets a warrant of peace against John Bird; members of the Latus, of the Curwen, of the Skelton, Senhouse, and other old families have, time and time, to answer for minor brutalities. The following are specimens of the recognisances entered into:—

"Jenat Hambleton, of Middlecoulderton, widdow, in £40, to prosecute Richard Chappelhow, of Whitehaven, for the supposed stealing of her gray mare."

"Anthony

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"Anthony Asbourner, High Corney, with Anthony Jackson and John Asbourner, in £40, for behaviour lykwise for Elsa, his wife, and Anthony, his son, he towards Richard Singleton."

Upon the whole the fines seem higher, comparatively, than in similar cases at the present day. Many of the miscellaneous entries are of interest. The first two notes indicate that there were restrictions on travelling at that disturbed period:—

"John Myres pays one shilling for a pass to travel to London on April 20, 1657; and on May 10, Joseph Nicholson obtains one to go to the Isle of Man."

Passing on to another subject:—

"Joseph Herbert was convict the 10th day of March, 1657, before me by the oath of Will Ffilbeck, for the swearinge of five pfane oaths on the same day, viz., three of them by God, one by his troth, and one by his soule."

Similar entries occur by "God's hart," "God's blood," and "God's wounds," all pointing to the prereformation origin of the oaths. The fine in each instance was 2d. per oath. A more lengthy and solemn entry, at any rate so far as judicial form is concerned, occurs on April 6th, 1657:—

"Be it remembered that Richard Hodgkin, of Drigg, within the county of Cumberland, came before me, William Thomson, one of the justices of the peace of this county, and did acknowledge himself to be owing unto the Lord Protector and his successors the sume of 10lb of lawfull money of England, of his lands and tenements, goods and chattells, to be levied by way of Recognizances upon condition that if this said Richard Hodgkin doe at any time hereafter play upon his vyall or any other instrument out of his own house, and thereon but for the recreation of himself and his family that then his recognizance to be void, or else to stande and continue in force."

"In December, 1656, were 24 persons of the parish of Drigg convicted before me for carding severall lord's dayes, and execution made according to the acte in that case made."

Muncaster and other parishes were no better than Drigg, for:—

"September 14th, 1657, were 12 of Muncaster and other parishes convict before me for drinking in Ulpha on the Lord's day, and execution made by stocking them all."

Why

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Why the record of marriages ceases as it does, December 14th, 1657, so long before the other entries terminate, or why they cease at the particular time they do, I cannot explain; probably the latter may be accounted for by the uncertain state into which everything fell, owing to the death of Cromwell, on the 3rd of September, 1658.

Thanks to the kindness of the Rev. Kenneth Mackenzie Pugh, I ascertain from the Drigg Register that "William Thomson, of Thornflat, was buried on the 3rd day of April, 1670."

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ART. XIII.—*The Senhouses, Stewards of Holme.* By E. T. TYSON, Maryport.

Read at Seascale Hall, August 30th, 1881.

A FEW months ago an old document was discovered by Mr. Ferguson, F.S.A., and the Rev. A. P. Shepherd (the present Vicar of Holme Cultram, in this county), at the old Abbey Church, in the parish of that name. It was found in the Vestry in a huge oaken chest, fastened by three fetter-locks. On being unlocked, for the first time probably within this century, the chest was found to contain a mass of mouldering papers, and amongst them was the one in question. In the last century the contents of the chest, together with other papers, appear to have been examined and sorted, and such of the documents as were thought to be valuable were, it is said, taken to Oxford, where they probably are to this day; whilst the refuse, consisting mainly or altogether of old law papers, was thrust again into the chest.

The document in question is entitled, "John Senhouse his patent for the Steward and Stewardship of the Lordshipp of Holme Cultram, with the leadinge and government of the tenantes against Scotland." At first sight it was taken to be the original patent, but Mr. Ferguson having allowed me to inspect the writing, I made a minute examination of it. It is an old case for the opinion of counsel touching certain matters then in dispute between the Steward of the Manor or Lordship of Holme Cultram, and the Clerk of the Manor Court, with counsel's opinion thereon.

This old document is very interesting upon two accounts —first, as bearing upon the history of the Manor of Holme Cultram; and secondly, as throwing some light upon the family

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family history of two leading and much respected ancient families in this county, namely, the Dykes of Dovenby Hall, and the Senhouses of Netherhall. It runs as follows:—

JOHN SENHOUSE his Patent for the Steward and Stewardship of the lordshipp of Holme Cultram with the leadinge and gouernment of the tenantes against Scotland.

A° 1° Eliz:

George Lamplughe Steward of the premises who surrendred *vt postea.*

Año p^{mo} Eliz. George Lamplughe esquier by bill signed and lr̃es patentes vnder the greate seale of England had grannted vnto him vizt Officiū Senescalli et Senescalsie omiū Dn̄iorum Manerior^{m} terrar^{m} tenemtor^{m} et hereditam^{m} nrorū quorūcumq; tam in com^{i} nr̃o Cumbr^{i} qm̃ alibi que nup Monaster de Holme Cultram in dco com Cumbr^{i} quondam spectabant et ptinebant vnacū Regimine gubernacöe et conducc̃one hominū et tenen^{t} nror^{m} dcor^{m} Dominor^{m} Manerior^{m} terrar^{m} tenemtor^{m} et hereditamen^{t} ad seruiend nobis et successor^{i} n̄ris sub Custod sive Gardiano Occidental Marcharū nrarū vers Scotiam quandocuq; ad id requisit fuer^{i} &^{ca} wch lr̃es patentes the said George Lamplugh did afterward Surrend^{r} and give vp to be cancelled.

A° 16 Eliz:

John Senhouse therevpon by patent is stewarde of ye premises vizt. of the Landes and gouernor and conductor of the tenantes against Scotland for seruice there which be twoe seuerall offices.

Afterward viz: Ano. 16 Eliz. the Queene's Matie by lyke lr̃és patentes vnder the greate seale of England recyting therein the said former lr̃és patentes granted the said office vnto John Senhouse in hec verba Regina &^{a} Sciatis igitur q^{d} nos in consideracone sursū reddic^{i} predic^{i} Necnon boni veri et fidelis Seruitii p pdc̃m Johem Senhouse nobis antehac impensi et imposter durant^{i} vita sua impendend de gr̃a nr̃a spiali

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spiali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nr̃is Dedimus et concessimus ac ꝑ pn̄tes pro nobis heredibꝰ et successor⁹ nr̃is Damus et concessimus prefat⁹ Joħi Senhouse predcū officiū Senescalli et Senescalsie dc̄orū omniū Dñioru⁹ manerꝝ terrꝝ tenemtorꝝ et hereditam⁹ nrorū quorucuqꝫ tam in dc̄o com nr̃o Cumbr⁹ qm̄ alibique dc̄o nuꝑ Monaster de Holme Cultram in dc̄o com⁹ Cumbr⁹ quondam spectabant et ꝑtinebant Vnacū Regimine gubernac̄oe et conducc̄one hominū et tenen̄ nr̃or⁹ dc̄oru Dñiorū Manerꝝ terrꝝ tenn̄ et hereditam⁹ ad ꝯuienđ nobis heredibꝰ et successorꝰ nr̃is sub custod siue Gardiano Occidentał Marchiarū nraru vers⁹ Scotiā quandocuqꝫ ad id requisit⁹ fuerint Ac ip̄m Joħem Senhouse Senescallu nr̃m Omniu⁹ Dñioru Manerꝝ tenemtorꝝ terrꝝ et hereditam⁹ pređcorꝝ Necnon Gubernator⁹ et conductor⁹ hominu et tenen̄ nrorꝝ predcoru facimus Ordinamus et constituimus ꝑ pn̄tes Habenđ tenenđ gaudenđ occupanđ et exercenđ officiū predcū prefato Joħi Senhouse per se vel per sufficient⁹ deputat⁹ suu siue deputat⁹ suos sufficientes duran⁹ vita sua naturali vnacū omiƀz comoditatibꝰ et preheminencijs quibuscu⁹qꝫ dc̄o officio quoquo modo spectan̄ siue incumben⁹ adeo plene libere et integre ꝑut aliquis alias siue aliqui alij predcū officiū antehac heñs siue heñtes vnquā hūerit vel gavisi fuer⁹ in excercoe eiusdem; Vnacu Feod &c

THOMAS DYKES his Pattent for the Clarkshipp of the courtes of the said lordship.

A° 32° Eliz.

The Clarks patent granted vpon a false surrender of a former patent made to Richard Barwis A° 13 Eliz. which office was never granted before by Patent.

Regina &c cu nos ꝑ lr̃as nr̃as patentes sub sigillo Cur⁹ Sãccij nr̃i confert⁹ gerent⁹ datū apud Westm⁹ vltimo die Novembr Año regni ñri xiij° assignaverimꝰ et constituimus dił̄cum nobis Ricū Barwis ad officiu Cłici Cur⁹ et vis⁹ Franc⁹ pleg⁹ omniu et singulorꝝ dñiorꝝ Manerioꝝ terrꝝ tenemtorꝝ liƀtat⁹ possessionu et hereditam⁹ quorucuqꝫ in Com⁹ Cumbr⁹ cu eorum membris

membris et ꝑtinen vniꝰsis nup Monaster de Holme Cultram in predco com quondam spectañ et ꝑtinen Ac ꝑcell possessionū inde nup existeñ: Ac ipm̄ Ricu Barwis Clicum Cur Lete et viꝭ Franc pleꝯ premissorꝰ fecerimꝰ ordinauimꝰ et constituimꝰ adtunc ad oñia exercend faciend psequend pagend et exequend dc̄m officiū quoquo modo tangenꝰ sive concerneñ Habend gaudend exercend et occupand predcū officiū prefato Rico Barwis tam ꝑ se quam ꝑ sufficien deputatꝰ suū sive deputatꝰ suos sufficienꝰ quamdiu nobis placuerit Cuius quidem Ricī Barwis ius statū titlū et interesse de et in officio predc̄o dilc̄us subditus ñr Thomas Dykes modo hēns ac ꝑ debitū iuris exigeñ possidens et tenens nobis sursum redd et restituit cancellanꝺ ea tamen intenc̄oe quod nos alias lr̄as nr̄as pateñ et dimissioñ nram de prēdco officio eidem Thome Dykes duranꝰ beneꝑito nro in forma sequeñ facere et concedere dignaremur. Quam quidem sursu redd acceptamus ꝑ pn̄tes. Sciatis igitur qd nos tam in consideracōne sursu redd p̄redce qm̄ ꝑ alijs causis et consideracōibus nos ad pñs movenꝰ de avisameñ dilci et fidelis Consiliarī nr̄i Willm̄i Baron de Burghley Thesaurꝰ nri Anglie assignavimꝰ et constituimꝰ prefatū Thomā Dykes ad officiū predcū Clici Cur et viꝭ Franc pleꝯ omniū et singlor̄ diñor̄ Maner̄ terr̄ tenemtꝰ Libtatꝰ possessionū et hereditam̄ quorūcūqꝫ in com pred cū eor̄ membr et ꝑtinen vniꝰsis nup Monaster de Holme Cultram in dc̄o com nr̄o quondam spectañ et ꝑtinen ac ꝑcell possessionū inde nup existeñ. Ac ipm̄ Thoma Dykes Clicū Cur Let et viꝭ franc pleꝯ premissorꝰ facimus ordinamus et constituimꝰ ꝑ pn̄tes ad omia exercend faciend ꝑsequend pagend et exequend dc̄m officiū quoquo modo tangeñ et concerneñ. Habend gaudend exercend et occupand p̄redcm officiuꝰ prefato Thome Dykes tam ꝑ se quam per sufficieñ deputatuꝰ suū siue Deputatꝰ suos sufficieñ quamdiu nobis placuerit Et capiend ānuatim ꝑ dc̄o officio exercend et occupand vad et Feod xxvjˢ viijᵈ * * e exit &ᶜ vnacū omibus ꝑficiis comoditatꝰ advantagꝰ allocacꝰ libtatꝰ dictꝰ aucthoritatꝰ Locis

et

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et preheminenc⁹ quibuscūqȝ dc̄o officio debit⁹ spectan̄ sine incumben̄ in tam amplius modo et forma put aliquis Cl̄icus ant aliqui Cl̄ici cur⁹ pred⁹ antehac h̄urer⁹ pciper⁹ et gavisi fuer⁹ &c.

Question 1.—Whither the said John Senhouse Steward or Thomas Dykes Clerk be learned steward of the lands and tenements * * * of the premises.

To the first what is mnt by this word learned Steward I see not nor can vnderstand: for Dykes is but Clark of the Courts and no Steward but Mr. Senhouse is Steward of the Manno^rs landes &c and not Dykes.

2.—Whither the said Steward or Clarke ought to appointe the time and place for the Courtes and kepe the same and call them that owe sute and fyne them that appeare not: appoint Juries and desallowe of such as are not meete: to give the charge to the Juries receive their verdict and presentm^t and take surrend^rs admytt tennts make them copies and signe the same: Make out estreates for levyinge fynes and Amercyam^ts coste and signeinge the same and myttigating of fynes and Amercyam^ts And for makinge and signeing of estreates for answeringe Fynes and Amercyam^ts at the Audytt And to have the custodie of the Estreates Court rolls and recordes of the said courte wthout the wch the Steward cannot heare and determyne causes in Controuersie amongest the tennts there. And therefore desireth to knowe the lawe, what belongeth to the Steward and what to the Clarke.

To the 2. Senhouse the Steward is to appoint the tyme & place for the courtes & kepe the same & to cause them that owe sute to be called & for such fynes as are to be assessed by the Steward are to be assessed by him vpon them that appeare nott. He is to allowe & disallowe the Jurors, to give the charge, to receive the verdict & p^rsentm^te to take surrend^rs to admytt tennts gr^t out copies & signe the same give dyreccons for makeinge thestreats & to signe the same; he is to mytigate fynes & Amercyam^ts

w^ch

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wch are assessed by him; but some Amercyamtˢ are to be assessed by the Asserers & therewth hath not the Steward nor Clark to doe; in qualyfyinge but onely to see them estreated. But it seemeth yt the wrytinge of copies & of thestreats & wrytinge of all pcesse should belonge to the Clarke who hath a fee for doinge thereof & the signeinge & allowance & disallowance therof doth belong to the Steward & not to the Clarke and all the Court bookes are to be p'used by the Steward & he may correct any default done in ye pceedinge by the clarke. It seemeth that the Court bookes doth appteine to the Clarke but they are to be pduced for any necessarye occasion to the Steward at his commandment.

3.—Item may the said Clarke lawfullie take a surrendr of a tenemte and admytt another tenant therof wythout the knowledge and consent of the said Steward, yea or no.

To the 3. the Clarke may not take a Surrendr of a tenemt nor admytt an other tennte therof wth out the consent and agrement of the steward and yt must be entered as the Stewardes acte or els yt is voyd.

The steward by pclamacon accordinge to the custome of the lo: appointes a daie and houre to kepe a Courte there: All men appeares savinge the Clarke who refuseth to come.

Question 4.—Whither the said Steward maie appoint one in the said Clark's place for the tyme and procede to kepe the said Courte or no.

If the Clarke have notice of the Court daie and shall obstinatly absent himself yt is a forfeyture of his office And I am of opinion that the Clarke not appearinge the Steward may wthout him proceed the Courte and appointe another Clarke or execute the place himself.

ANDR. BLUNDEY.

The original document is beautifully written in clear distinct and well formed characters of the period, the difference

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ference in the styles of the handwriting of the respective clerks of the counsel and the attorney being readily recognizable. The signature, "Alexr. Blundey," who advised upon the case, is written in a bold legible hand. That Blundey was a counsel of eminence, and well read in real property and manorial law, may be taken for granted, but it is not he with whom we are now concerned.

I need not review the purely legal matter contained in the case, as it sufficiently explains itself, but some account should be given of the John Senhouse and Thomas Dykes therein referred to, and of the Manor with which they were both honourably connected. Prior to the dissolution of the religious houses, the Manor had long been vested in the Abbotts and Monks of Holme Cultram, but from the year 1540 until 1693 it remained the property of the Crown. It was during a portion of that period that we trace the connection of the Senhouses with the Manor. On two occasions it served as a Royal jointure, being granted first to Henrietta Maria on her marriage with Charles I. in 1625; and secondly, to Catherine of Portugal on her marriage with Charles II. in 1662. In 1693 it was alienated by the Crown, and is now, and for many years past has been, the property of the Standish family.

Its proximity to the border necessitated the tenants to be always on the alert for forays and incursions by the Scots, and it was obligatory upon them to serve in peace and war on the borders with horse and armour. The Stewards of the Lordship had confided to them the "leadinge" of the tenants in this border service, and this office, as well as the Stewardship proper—which a marginal note to the case points out—are "twoe seuerall offices," were both conferred upon John Senhouse. As steward, he was judge of the court baron and court leet, and his office was one both of emolument and honour.

He was the third son of John Senhouse, of Alneburgh (now Nether) Hall, who was descended from Walter de Sewynhouse,

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Sewynhouse, de Sevenhouse, or de Senhouse, who had a fifth part of the township of Bolton, in the parish of Gosforth, granted to him by Alan de Copeland, and likewise other lands in the same parish by William de Wayberthwaite. Neither of these grants is dated, but both are witnessed by Sir Adam de Lamplugh, Kt., who lived in the times of King Richard and King John. His oldest brother Thomas was ancestor of the Senhouses of Seascale, now extinct, in the male line. He was the John Senhouse mentioned by Camden in the "Britannica," and succeeded on his father's death to the estate and manor of Ellenborough, which had come to the Senhouses by his father's intermarriage in 1528 with Elizabeth, elder sister and co-heiress of Richard Eglesfield, son of Gawen Eglesfield, of Alneburgh Hall, High Sheriff of this county in the 9th Henry VIII., which Gawen was the descendant in a right line from John de Eglesfield, the elder brother of Robert de Eglesfield, the founder of Queen's College, Oxford. He died in 1604, and was succeeded in his estates by his eldest son Peter, by his marriage with Anne, daughter of John Ponsonby, Esq., of Haile Hall. Peter Senhouse was appointed escheator for the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland by letters patent (20 James I.), and was High Sheriff for the former shire 3d Charles I.* He also held the stewardship of the lordship of Holme Cultram. Subjoined is a copy of a "letter" or warrant from the latter king, addressed to him as steward. It is taken from an old manuscript book relating to the manor. The original probably has been destroyed, or it may be at Oxford, or mouldering in the old oak chest at the Abbey Church:—

CHARLES REX.

Our will and pleasure is that presently upon sight hereof you deliver or cause to be delivered unto our servant Sir Richard Graham Kn^t and Baronet Fourscore & ten Timber trees or such as he shall make choice of in our Woods of Wedholm wood in ye Holme Cultram within

* Burke's "Landed Gentry." E. T. T.

our

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our County of Cumberland for which this shall be your sufficient warrant Given at our Manor* at St. Jameses under our Signet the last day of June in the 6th year of our reign.

To PETER SENHOUSE Steward
of our Manor of Holme Cultram

The name of "Peter Senhouse" frequently occurs in the manorial records. In the seventh year of King Charles I. he was nominated with other "persons of quality" a commissioner "for the discovery of certain enclosures and encroachments by the customary tenants within the Manor." The other commissioners were Christopher Richmond, Esq., Henry Toulson, Esq., Robert Highmoor, Esq., Richard Kirkbride, Gent: and Edmund Bateman. The inquiry, as might be expected, aroused much hostility and ill-will amongst the tenants, as plainly appears by the following spiteful memorandum appended to a copy of the proceedings recorded in the book before referred to:—

"This commission was procured by William Brisco; he made Richard Tickle acquainted therewith and they both joined to make the King's attorney do for them. The King's Attorney & Richard Tickle being sisters' children; he procured the Commission & put in Mr Senhouse a Commissioner, he being brother [in-law] to William Brisco, and the Commissioners made John Eglesfield foreman of the Jury he being brother to Richard Tickle so they turned what they chused with many untruths."

Peter Senhouse died 1654. By his marriage with Frances, daughter of Lancelot Skelton, Esq., of Armathwaite Castle, in this county, he had a son John, who succeeded him. He married Elizabeth, third daughter of Humphrey Wharton, Esq., of Gillingwood, county York, and had with other children two sons, Humphrey and John. The former died young without issue; the latter, who was a staunch Royalist and a captain in Charles I. army, succeeded his father on the latter's death in 1667. He died the same year, and was succeeded by his eldest

* *sic.* E. T. T.

son

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son John.* Whether all these John Senhouses succeeded to or held the stewardship of Holme Cultram, it is at present impossible for me to say with confidence. I think, however, that one or more of them did hold the office. In an old Court Roll of the Manor of Ellenborough there is a copy of a letter which greatly favours this presumption. It reads thus:—

Sr

Ye Lr I recd concernnige the Court Bokes of Holm Cultra I doe nott know either by what Law or Justice or for what offence I must Loose my place onely I p'ceive it is Mr. Chislet's pleasure: I doe nott doubt butt to live without it or his favours and enjoy a place where he is nott to Controul me: nevertheless the bookes shall be ready that there may be noe neglect of theire Mas Conserns by me: and I hoope yu will have them ere longe ready to deliver againe to

Sr

Yo affectionate friend & Servt

JOHN SENHOUSE.

Neatherhall

Octobr 3 (68)

An inspection of the Holme Cultram Court Rolls of that period would settle the point conclusively. At the Restoration a John Senhouse petitioned the Crown for the appointment. In the calendar of State Papers is an abstract of his petition.

There is a romantic story connected with Captain John Senhouse, which I may here introduce. He was serving in the army of Charles I. when his elder brother died. His parents naturally became anxious that he should no longer expose himself to danger in the war, but suspecting that he might disregard their wishes unless urged with personal earnestness, they sent a young man, the son of a tenant at Ellenborough, who had been his playmate, to bring him

* Burke's "Landed Gentry." By his second wife, Mary, daughter of Andrew Huddleston, Esq., of Hutton John—(his first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Jerome Tolhurst, Lieut.-Governor and M.P. of Carlisle, but he had no issue by her)— This John Senhouse married Jane, daughter of Richard Lamplugh, Esq., of Dovenby Hall, and had issue, and died in 1694. After him came four Humphreys in regular succession, the last being the father of the present Mrs. Senhouse, of Netherhall.—E. T. T.

home

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home. The messenger arrived on the eve of the battle of Marston Moor, and the result was that instead of bringing back his young master, the latter induced him to remain, and to share the danger with him. They were together at Marston Moor and at Naseby, at which latter place John Senhouse was left for dead on the field. His faithful companion went after the battle was over to look for the body, and to give it christian burial, and amongst a heap of the dead he succeeded in finding him severely wounded, but still breathing. In this condition he carried him away on his back, and so by timely assistance John Senhouse's life was preserved, and he lived to continue the race. As a reward, the land of the tenant was enfranchised.* There is a portrait of this John at Netherhall, and also the sword and breastplate that he is said to have worn. The sword has a buckhorn handle, and the back of it is notched like a saw, and was probably intended to be used as such.

The Thomas Dykes named in the case as being clerk of the Holme Cultram Manor Court is described by Camden as "a gentleman of great note." He was escheator of Westmorland, temp. Elizabeth, and married Jane, daughter of Lancelot Lancaster, of Sockbridge. His sister Catherine married Gawen Eglesfield (19th Elizabeth.) Thomas Dykes was succeeded by his son Leonard Dykes, who was sheriff for Cumberland (19 Charles I.), and warrant treasurer for the King's forces for the county and garrison of Carlisle.† Thomas Dykes, his successor, was a devoted Royalist. After the defeat of the party, he is said to have concealed himself for some time in a large mulberry tree near Warthole (which I believe is still growing), where food was conveyed to him by his wife and daughter. The Republicans, however, found him out, and imprisoned him in Cockermouth Castle. The words, "prius frangitur

* *Vide* Correspondence of Robert Southey, edited by his son-in-law, the Rev. John Moore Warter. E. T. T.

† For him, see ante p 10 n. Editor.

quam

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quam flectitur," is said to be the answer (in Latin) which he gave when offered his liberty and property provided he would acknowledge the Protector. These words have been adopted as the family motto ever since by the Dykes, the present head of whose house is Lamplugh Frecheville Ballantine Dykes, Esq., of Dovenby Hall.

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ART. XIV.—*The Friar-Preachers, or Blackfriars, of Carlisle.* By the Rev. C. F. R. PALMER.* With an Appendix by R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Read at Kendal, July 7th, 181.

WALTER MAUCLERK, or Malclerk, was one of the greatest diplomatists of his age, and was esteemed more as a politician and courtier than as a divine. From his scanty learning, it is probable that his surname was given to him. He was made Bishop of Carlisle in 1223, and owed his dignity mainly to temporal interests. His life at court was marked with all the vicissitudes of favour and disgrace—now at the helm of state, then in skulking flight. In his better nature he was always a patron and great benefactor of the Friar-Preachers. At last conscience overcame ambition; and, wearied with the world, and doubtful of the lawfulness of his appointment to the bishopric, he entered the Dominican order at Oxford in the summer of 1246, and after a short religious life, closed his days there in the autumn of 1248.

It was under the sanction of this noted prelate that the Friar-Minors and Friar-Preachers established themselves at Carlisle, in the year 1223. The former settled in this city about the feast of the Assumption; the latter about the following Michaelmas.† At first the house of the Friar-Preachers was "extra muros;" but Leland describes it as being "withyn the walles."‡ This is easily explained, for part of the city walls was rebuilt in the time of Henry VIII., and was prolonged so as to include the

* Reprinted by permission from the "Reliquary Quarterly Archæological Journal and Review." Edited by Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A., for April, 1881.

† Chron. Lanercost: Bibl. Cotton. Claud. D. VII.

‡ Leland's Itin.

English

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English gate and citadel, between which and the Church of St. Cuthbert, the Dominican Priory stood.

The Friar-Preachers having secured a house, immediately fitted up a chapel for themselves, and set about to build. The king ordered the Sheriff of Cumberland, March 12th, 1333-4, to give them the seisin of a plot of land in the street, lying between their chapel and some land belonging to them; which plot they had begged in order to enlarge and extend their houses and buildings.* But in the course of the erections, they encroached on the street to the damage of it, and would have had the obnoxious house summarily razed if the king had not directed a mandate to the sheriff, June 24th, 1237, to allow the Friars themselves to remove it without hindrance.† Another royol mandate was issued, May 19th, 1238, to the mayor and approved men of the city, to allow the Friars to carry their conduit either below or through the city wall;‡ and the order was repeated September 30th, 1240, for piercing the wall.§ Hence it appears that they obtained their supply of water from within the city, probably from the public conduit. The king gave them, December 11th, 1239, ten oaks in Englewood forest for the fabric of their church; and in 1244 six more, which, August 31st, he ordered the sheriff to carry, "usque ecclesiam illam."‖

Henry III. ordered the sheriff, December 18th, 1251, to let the Friar-Preachers of Carlisle have thirty quarters of wheat, twenty quarters of barley, and thirty quarters of oats, as a royal gift for their support.** In 1269, the prior of Carlisle was present at the arbitration made, August 4th, at the convent of Pontefract, in the matters of controversy between the Cluniacs of that town and those of

* Claus. 18 Hen. III. m. 28.
† Claus. 21 Hen. III. m. 9.
‡ Claus. 22 Hen. III. m. 14.
§ Claus. 24 Hen. III. m. 1.
‖ Claus. 24 Hen. III. m. 19. Liberat 28 Hen. m. 5.
** Liberat. 36 Hen III. m. 17.

Monk

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Monk Bretton.* The executors of Queen Eleanor of Castile, shortly after Michaelmas, 1291, gave 100s. for this house, to F. William de Hotham, provincial, through Robert de Middelton.† The city of Carlisle was burnt down on the Sunday within the octave of Ascension (May 18th), 1292, and all the churches were destroyed except the one attached to this Priory. The chronicler of Lanercost bewails the unfortunate disaster in verse, wherein he gives the Friar-Preachers their French designation of Jacobins.

> Proh dolor immensus! Maii sub tempore mensis,
> Ignibus accensis urbs arsit Karleolensis.
> Urbs desolata, cujus sunt aspera fata,
> Flammis vastata misere jacet incinerata.
> Ecce repentinis datur inclita villa ruinis,
> Fitque cremata cinis, salvis tantum Jacobinis.
> Organa, campane, vox musica Canonicorum
> Jam mentita sane sunt instrumenta dolorum.
> Post desolamen urbs sentiat hec relevamen.
> Fiat, fiat. Amen. Hoc audi, Christe, precamen."

During the wars with Scotland, Edward I. was several times at Carlisle, and in 1300 the royal family took up their quarters in this Priory. On July 3rd he gave an alms of 16s. to the Friars for their food on June 28th, 29th, and 30th, through F. John de Hibaldestowe.‡ On leaving the city, July 4th, he gave 5s. 4d. for a day's food, through F. Henry de Newcastle-on-Tyne, and sent 10s. 8d., September 20th, from Rose Castle, through Sir Henry, his almoner, for food on August 14th and 15th, in honour of the Assumption of the B. Virgin.§ His queen, Margaret of France, amongst the alms given by Sir Hugh, her almoner, on the nine Fridays between September 18th, when she joined the king at Rose Castle, and November 19th, gave 6s. 8d.

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* Mon. Angl.

† Rot. (garder.) liberat. pro regina etc. 19-20 Edw. I.

‡ Rot. garder. 28 Edw. I.

§ Lib. quotid. contrarot. garder. reg. 28 Edw. I. printed).

to

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to be bestowed on the Friar-Preachers of Carlisle for a day's food.* The king, being again at Carlisle, gave them, October 18th, through F. John de Wrotham, 18s. for three days' food, and 6s. for the 8th, on which day they had celebrated mass for the soul of the Earl of Cornwall.† They also celebrated mass for the soul of the Earl of Holland, November 10th, whose anniversary fell on that day: the Queen and Countess of Holland (the king's daughter) were present, and made an offering of 12s. 2d.; and the countess, moreover, gave 4s. for that day's food.‡ In 1302 the Queen and Countess again heard mass here on the same anniversary, and gave the same offering of 12s. 2d.§

Edward II., passing through Carlisle on his way from Scotland, September 4th, 1307, ordered 15s. to be given to the fifteen Friar-Preachers here for three days' pittance, through F. John de Warfeld.‖ In 1315 Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, laid siege to Carlisle, July 24th, and placed part of his army under Lord James Douglas on the west, about the place of the Friar-Preachers. But when he learned that the English were advancing against him, August 1st, he raised the siege, and retired into his own country, leaving all his implements of war behind.**

By an inquisition taken at Carlisle, February 4th, 1333-4, by writ of November 16th preceding, it was found that Thomas le Spenser, chaplain, might assign land 240 feet long and 7 feet broad to the Friar-Preachers, to form a road straight from the street to their dwelling. The land was held immediately of the crown by house-gabellage, and was worth 40d. a year in all issues.†† A mandate was directed

* Ibidem.
† Rot. garder. (elemos.) 28 Edw. I.
‡ Lib. quotid. etc. 28 Edw. I.
§ Onus garder. 31 Edw. I., de term. pasch.
‖ Lib. garder reg. 1 Edw. II.
** Chron. Lanercost.
†† Inquis ad q. damp. 7 Edw. III., no. 12. Jurors: John, son of Tho. Pellipar, Ad. de Oxholm, Edmund de Bolton, John fitz Martin, Hen. de *Coquina*, Alan de Lydell, Will. de Fribus, Gilb. del Feilde, Tho. del Cowe, Tho. de Frod...sham, Ad. Tiffour, and Tho. le Sadelere.

to

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to the Chancellor, May 16th, to grant the mortmain-license for the transfer of the land; but no such license appears on record.

Edward III., at Carlisle in 1335, bestowed an alms of 20s. on the Friar-Preachers, through F. Peter de Rudby, for celebrating the anniversary of his grandfather, Edward I. (July 7th), and made an offering of a cloth of gold, worth 26s. 8d., at the high altar through his almoner, Sir Walter de London.*

Sir Brian de Stapilton, Knt., by will dated May 16th, 1394, and proved January 26th following, bequeathed to the Friars of Carlisle, to each Order, 13s. 4d.† The master-general of the Order gave license, June 20th, 1397, to F. Stephen de Actlu, S. T. Mag., to choose a companion, to take meals in his own chamber, and to remove disturbance of the peace from his convent of Carlisle.‡ Sir Richard le Scrop, Lord of Bolton, August 2nd, 1400, bequeathed 20s. to every house of Friars at Carlisle, Penrith, and Appleby.§ F. John Grey, sac. pag. prof., prior (*custos*) of this house, had faculties from the Archbishop, February 20th, 1409-10, to hear confessions in the Diocese of York for one year.‖ Sir John Kimblow, Rector of Lamplugh, and Archdeacon of Richmond, by will dated September 18th, and proved November 6th, 1469, bequeathed 6s. 8d. to the Order of Friar-Preachers of Carlisle.**

At the time of the dissolution, the Priory consisted of the church and churchyard, the convent buildings and houses, a large garden, and a great orchard; with two tenements in Butcher-gate, which probably formed the endowment of some mortuary foundations or obits. The

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* Lib. garder. de annis 8, 9, 10, 11 Edw. III.: Bibl. Cotton. Nero C VIII.
† Testamenta Eboracensia.
‡ Ex. tabulario mag. gen. Ord. Romano.
§ Testamenta Eboracensia.
‖ Hutton's Excerpta e reg, dioc. Ebor.: Harl. MSS., cod. 6969.
** Wills and Inventories from the Registry of the Archdeaconry of Richmond.

convent

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convent was suppressed about March, 1538-9, apparently by the suffragan Bishop of Dover, for in a letter addressed to Lord Cromwell from Grimsby, February 24th, he mentioned his intention of going to Scarborough, Carlisle, and Lancaster.* The plate taken hence was lodged in the king's jewel-house, April 25th following,† and the buildings were appropriated for the purpose of the Government. John Skalton, Esq., was made keeper, and at Michaelmas the lands and buildings were thus occupied:—

The site of the church with the churchyard containing 1 *r.*	Lying waste.
A stone house, with two stables adjoining let to Jane Blanerhasset, gentlewoman	8s.
A house called the *Gardyng House*, in the tenure of the chamberlain within the city, and taken up with the king's ordnance and gunpowder	10s.
A chamber lying west of the *Frater*, let to Anthony Musgrove, chaplain	6s. 8d.
Two garners over the *Frater*, let to Sir Christopher Dacre, knt.	8s. 4d.
A house called the *Kylne House* and a *stepe trowe* of lead, containing 3 yards in length, 1½ in depth, and 1½ broad, let to Will. Talentyre	4s.
The quarter of the garden next the *Kylne House*, let to Jane Blanerhasset	12d.
The moiety of the same garden, let to the wife of Thomas Bell	2s.
The quarter of the same garden, let to Will. Howell ...	12d.
Upper part of the same garden, let to Edw. Blakeloke ...	12d.
Tenement lying in the *Bocher Gate*, let to the same ...	5s.
Tenement in *Bocher Gate*, let to Rob. Waroke	7s. 4d.
A garden, parcel of the *Grete Orchard*, let to Rob. Colier ...	12d.
A garden, parcel of the same, let to Rob. Dalston ...	8d.
Another parcel of same, let to John Duglas	8d.
A garden, also parcel of the same, let to Lancelot Sewell, merchant, and Alex. Stagg, and Hugh Berker, chaplains	2s.
Total yearly rents, 53s. 8d.‡	

* Miscellaneous letters, temp. Hen. VIII., series 2, vol. viii.

† Williams' Account of Monastic Treasures Confiscated (Abbotsford Club).

‡ Ministers' Accounts, 30-31 Hen. VIII., No. 131.

Within

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Within a short time Margaret Sewell, Alex. *Starke*, and Berker were tenants of the last garden. In 1541 the site of the church and the churchyard, with the guard-house and all the buildings and lands, except the two tenements and the gardens let to Colier, Dalston, and Duglas, were paled in by Sir Thomas Wharton, and within the palings a house was well and strongly built out of the materials of the Priory for the use of the royal council in the settlement of affairs between the kingdoms of England and Scotland. The amount thus withdrawn from the rents was 39s.* In 1608 all the houses and lands remained in the same state as in 35 Henry VIII. (1543), except that the cottage let to Blacklocke was rented at 3s. 6d. instead of 5s., and the guard-house was then the *wardenhowse* of the citadel.† Afterwards, the large building was turned into the county gaol, consisting of several modern buildings around a considerable yard. This ground, 255 feet long and 108 feet broad, was bought by the Quakers soon after their society sprang up, for the accommodation of many of their sect who were imprisoned here; and the ground has ever since been part of the gaol. This was a mean building, and became much out of repair. A new county gaol and house of correction were erected on the site, and completed in 1827, at the cost of £42,534, including the purchase of 1½ acres of land. The old gaol was on the site of the present gaol-lodge. No memorial of the Blackfriars of Carlisle now exists, except a street to which the name was given.

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* Ministers' Accounts, 37-38 Hen. VIII., No. 178.
† Ministers' Accounts, 5-6 Jac. I., No. 6.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

By R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A.

The Catalogue of the MS. Maps at the British Museum contains the following entries:—

9. A plan of the "citie of Carlisle" drawn tempore Henry VIII. on a scale of 100 feet to an inch: 2ft. 2in., by 1ft. 7in. (Cott. Aug. I. c. 13.)

10. Ancient plan of the city of Carlisle, from a drawing in the British Museum, being a highly finished reduced copy in outline in pencil from the preceding; by F. Nash, 1ft. 1in., by 10in. (Add. 9462, fol. 145.) Engraved in Lysons' Magna Britannica, vol. iv., p. 58.

On looking to the engraving in Lysons' we find the site of the Priory most clearly defined, exactly as paled in by Sir Thomas Wharton in 1541, ante p. 144. I have reproduced a portion of this plan in *fac-simile*, adding for the convenience of those who do not know Carlisle, one or two names in a modern hand, and some lettering to facilitate reference. The site of the Blackfriars is a trapezium, A B C D on the plan, bounded on the east by the Back Street, or Blackfriars Street, A B; on the west by the street called now the West Walls, B D; on the north by Bella Head's Lane, A D, which divided the Blackfriars from St. Cuthbert's Churchyard, and the "Locus Canonicorum," on whose southern boundary stood the Canons' Tithe Barn, E on the plan. The southern boundary of the trapezium is the passage C B, or Bush Brow, leading from the main street to the half-round tower in the west curtain wall. Between this tower and the western tower of the Citadel was the English Gate, at F.* Over the area A B C D is written in a contemporary hand, "The Black freares was hear." Excavations show that Bella Head's Lane was once a ditch—the boundary ditch between the Black Canons of Car-

* Many people think the English Gate was between the Citadels, and many maps show it there. It was to the north of the west tower of the Citadel. The fort of the Citadel consisted of two great round towers, connected by rampier walls, within which stood two houses (probably more), known as the Buttery and Boulting Houses. See the report temp. Elizabeth in Hutchinson's Cumberland, vol. 2, p. 594, and the view in "Carlisle in the Olden Times;" also Smith's plan of 1746. The rampier wall towards the city was strengthened by a great semi-circular bastion, and that to the south by a square one. The fort of the Citadel was a most important part of the fortifications of Carlisle. It could mount two tiers of guns, its fire could sweep the main street of the city, as well as the London Road, which wound round its western tower, and it also enfiladed the English Gate.

lisle

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lisle and the Black Friars. The "locus Canonicorum et Fratrum Prædicatorum" of the Lanercost Chronicle thus extended from Paternoster Row to the Bush Brow, almost the whole length of the West Wall of Carlisle.

The paling put up by Sir Thomas Wharton is most clearly shown in the plan: it does not include the whole site, for a small piece on the south is excluded, and it is at two places interrupted by buildings. A large two-storied building stands in the centre of the west side: at right angles to it, and facing south is a two-storied house, looking over the gardens. This, from its position, I take to be the "Gardyng house," (ante p. 143,) which afterwards became the "Warden-house," or residence of the Warden or Governor of the Citadel, a post held by Sir William Dalston in the reign of Charles II. Two other buildings with these two enclose a courtyard, and the building forming the north side of the yard continues to the east, and has something like cloisters on its south side. These buildings must have occupied the site now the "Old Foundry," and stood probably on the foundations of the conventual buildings, if indeed part of those buildings did not actually survive in them. The church must have stood immediately to the east, about where are now the warehouses and stables in Blackfriars Street, which are now my brother's property, at G in the plan.

The title deeds of these warehouses and stables show that in 1606 Geo. Ladyman conveyed them to James Blaycklock as "all that Barne of two rooms and one outsett with the appurtenances situate in the said City and church of the late dissolved monastery of the Blackfryars there in the tenure of said Geo. Ladyman, &c," subject to a yearly rent of 8d. to the King. I have therefore little doubt but that the western portion of the Old Foundry is on the site of the Conventual buildings, and that the church stood on or near Mr. C. J. Ferguson's property in Blackfriars Street.

At the north-east corner of the enclosure the plan shows a two-storied house with a two-storied annex to it—probably the stonehouse and stables adjoining let to Jane Blanerhasset (ante p. 143). At this angle is the entrance H to the enclosure, directly opposite New Bank Bank, K L, which, spite its name, is shewn in the map *temp.* Henry VIII. It is to this day 240 feet long by 7 feet broad, and is no doubt the road of those dimensions which the Blackfriars obtained leave to make from their dwelling to the street, *i. e.*, the main street.

I do not pretend to assign each of the gardens shown on the plan of *temp.* Henry VIII. to its tenant, but if any one will take the Ordnance Map, he will see that the present buildings that now cover the site have been formed by building round the gardens. The line that in the old map cuts off the north-west angle of the site is to this day the

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the boundary between the Old Foundry property, and other property belonging to my brother. His Blackfriars Street property, similarly, shapes itself to the lines of the smaller of the three garden plots, G. shown on the plan.

My next task is to identify the two tenements in Botchergate (ante p. 143).

At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, and up to the end of last century, what is now called English Street, was called Botchergate: at first Botchergate simply, and afterwards, Botchergate Within (*i.e.*, the city). A reference to the title deeds of any property (my own for instance) in English Street will shew this, the parcels running "in Botchergate within, otherwise English Street." The two tenements must, therefore, be looked for in English Street, and not in the modern Botchergate, which barely existed in 1746, and could hardly exist at all in 1538-9.

Now a reference to the plan shows, south of the site we have been discussing, another site, C B M N, also paled in,—a garden with small outhouse, and at the south end two large houses, exactly opposite Cuckolds's, or Citadel Row, and so on the site of the lodge to the present Gaol, which is in English Street, or Botchergate within. These occupy the site which was afterwards the "Old Gaol," and must be the buildings that were converted into the County Gaol, and that appear to the sinister in the plate of the English Gate in "Carlisle in the Olden Time."

The county histories say the Old Gaol stood on the site of the monastery of the Blackfriars. That is clearly impossible; a glance at the plan shows that, but no doubt the assertion arose from its having stood on the site of property belonging to that body, and only separated from their site by a narrow passage, which was closed during the last century, as the maps of that time show.

The "Grete Orchard" I do not pretend, as at present informed, to identify. I rather think it may be found outside the City, at O, in a property well-known as "Mounseys." Part of it was purchased from the Aglionbys, and Jefferson, in his History of Carlisle, says it came to them from the Blackfriars, The title deeds show that the Aglionbys purchased early in last century from Backhouse, whose name survives in Backhouse's Walk. The older deeds are missing, but Backhouse may have deduced title from the Blackfriars, and Atkinson, the writer of Jefferson's History, had special access to the Aglionby muniments. The name of Collier, who was tenant of parcel of the "Grete Orchard," ante p. 143, survives to this day in Colier's Lane. Wood's valuable map of Carlisle, in 1821, shows Colier's Lane continued to Backhouse's Walk.

After

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After this identification of the site of the Blackfriars by help of the map *temp.* Henry VIII., there can be no doubt that their house was inside the City long ere Henry VIII. built the Citadel. I cannot accede to Mr. Palmer's suggestion that Henry VIII. included it in the City for the first time, when he built the Citadel, and prolonged the City Wall. That would involve the City Wall having once terminated at the Sallyport, (P on the plan,) and that Henry VIII. prolonged it from there to the English Gate. The Sallyport is situate in the West Wall, almost opposite the division between the property of the Black Canons of Carlisle and the Blackfriars. Examine the City Wall northward from the Sallyport to the Irish Gate, and southward to the Round Tower, *i. e.*, the Viaduct: in both cases, patched as the walls are, it is easy to be seen they are of coeval date, and that a date long anterior to Henry VIII. Some competent judges have asserted them to be Roman: I do not think so, though many Roman stones appear among them. Any extension of the walls made by Henry VIII. would only be a few yards between the Tower and the Citadels, which were probably built a few yards in advance of the old gate. But the Chronicle of Lanercost, in 1315, clearly proves that the Blackfriars were then within the walls. It says:—

"Dominus vero Jacobus de Douglas, miles baldus et cautelosus, cum quibusdam aliis de exercitu qui erant audaciores et agiliores posuerunt se ad partem occidentalem contra locum Canonicorum et Fratrum Prædicatorum, &c."

No one doubts that Canons were within the Walls, and if they were, so must have been the Blackfriars, or Friar Preachers, for they are spoken of in identical language.

I am positive they were within the City in 1238, when they got a mandate to carry their conduit through the City Wall: that alone proves it. There was no public conduit in Carlisle; its position forbids such, and its water supply was got from deep wells,* of which several exist on the site of the Blackfriars. The order to pierce the Wall would be to run their sewer through it. If they were then outside, it would have been impossible to have either got water from the inside of the City, or to have drained into the City. They would too have had an abundant water supply at hand without the City.

Two solutions occur to me of the difficulty:—1. In 1233 they squatted outside for a few months until they could get inside. 2. The Chronicler of Lanercost is mistaken, as the Escheat Rolls prove him to be in another local instance. (See Transactions of this Society, vol. iv., p. 466.)

* In the Artesian well in the Gaol, the water only rises to twelve feet from the surface. A conduit in Carlisle could not be filled without constant pumping, and the surface within the City Walls is thirty feet higher than where the Gaol well is. But

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But since writing the above I have found the conduit. In Lysons' History of Cumberland, at p. ccvii, is an account, with plan, of a singular vaulted chamber within the City Wall at Q on the plan. All the local historians mention this chamber and its discovery, and have no idea what it is. Hutchinson, vol. ii., p. 607. says: —

"Up the west side, adjoining the walls, from S. Cuthbert's church to the gaol, is called the Black Friars: . . . . a few years ago in making a drain from a house here towards the walls, the top of an arch was discovered: some of the stones being removed, we discovered a spacious arched room, one side of which rested upon the walls, in height 15 feet, in breadth 12 feet, and in length about 30 feet: the end was narrower and lower, and supposed to have heen connected with other similar rooms, but the partitions built up. There were four funnels went upright to the foot-path of the walls, but covered at the top with flags, and iron grates in the funnels. On the opposite side, between the two arches, a horizontal funnel about two feet wide and three feet high went towards the city. This was searched a considerable way, till the person was entangled with rubbish which choaked it up: beneath this passage the floor was flagged and walled in about 18 inches high on each side, and a conduit went through the city wall on the opposite side of the vault: this was opened by removing the earth on the outside, about four feet deep, and let out a great quantity of water which was lodged in the vault. Proceeding to remove the wet rubbish which was collected, the workmen were interrupted by the gunner of the Castle, who assumed a higher power than Mr. Mead, the store keeper, at whose instance the search was making: and the place was shut up and never more opened."

The above was written in 1794: the vault has now been cleared, and is let by the Corporation, its present owners, as a tallow warehouse, for 2/6 a-year. It is simply an underground vault with a drain into the top, and another out under the City Walls at the bottom. There was no access to it, but one has now been made by breaking through the City Wall. It is close to what I have pointed out as the site of the Conventual buildings of the Blackfriars, and the upper drain comes from those buildings. It is nothing more nor less than the cesspool of the Blackfriars, and the four funnels are the shoots of the jakes. Instances exist at Durham, Canterbury, and elsewhere.

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ART. XV.—*A Sketch of the History of Egremont Castle.* By W. JACKSON, F.S.A.

Read at Egremont, August 31st.

THE early history of the Castle of Egremont is involved in the history of the wars between England and Scotland, during most part of the twelfth century, for the possession of Cumberland. It is not my intention to repeat more of the minor details which have appeared and reappeared in our County Histories further than to maintain a certain continuity of narrative, my object being to explain difficulties, to correct erroneous statements, and to relate new facts in the history of the Castle and Barony of Copeland, otherwise Egremont.

The remarkable natural hill, commanding the passage of the river Ehen, on which the castle stands, would seem to afford a desirable site for a fortress, but whether it was ever occupied for that object by the Romans, who certainly had some settlement at Egremont, may be considered doubtful. No traces exist of fortifications of earlier age than the twelfth century.

William de Meschines, the son of Ranulph, obtained a grant of the Barony of Copeland from Henry 1st when his brother Ranulph became Earl of Chester, about the year 1120. He fixed upon this cop, out of many which characterise the country so remarkably as to have given it the name of Copland, whereupon to erect his Baronial Castle; an erection peculiarly needful, for he was planting himself in the midst of a hostile population, and would need defence, not only from the attacks of the Scottish monarchs, who were eager to retain the territory which they had lost ever since the seizure of the district by William Rufus in 1092, but even more from the hostile feeling of the inhabitants who did not recognise the imaginary line, called in later

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later times "the Border," which was supposed to divide them from their brethren of the same race inhabiting the northern part of the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde. It was probably this hostility which led William Rufus to transplant a colony from the south to Carlisle when he refounded the city; indeed, it is by no means improbable that inducements may have been held out to attract a friendly population to Egremont, and that liberties which existed at a somewhat earlier, may have been merely confirmed by the Charter of a later date. The herring bone work, which is still to be found in the western wall of the Castle, and of which traces probably exist elsewhere in the building, is a remnant of this easily and hastily erected structure, in which palisades would form a very prominent feature. William was the founder of the Priory of Saint Bees, which he constituted a cell of the Abbey of Saint Mary at York,* as his brother had done with his foundation of Wetheral. He married Cecily, heiress of Robert de Romelli, Lord of the Honour of Skipton, and by her had two sons, Ranulph and Matthew, and a daughter, Alice.† It has been stated that both sons predeceased their father,‡ but I am disposed to think that Ranulph was lord for a brief period, for the reason that a Ranulph was the founder of Calder Abbey in 1134. It is true that the Charter of the foundation of that Abbey has been ascribed by Dugdale§ to Ranulph, Earl of Chester, but it could not have been granted by Ranulph the first of that name and title, for he died in 1129, and he had absolutely surrendered into the hands of the Crown in 1120 his Barony of Carlisle (which included not only Cumberland, but the Barony of Appleby,) and the Barony of Kendal, (which he acquired by marriage with the heiress,) as one of the conditions of his being

* Harleian MSS. Brit. Mus. Chartulary of St. Bees—Copy penes Rev. Canon Knowles.

† Whitaker's Craven, edited by A. W. Morant, F.S.A., page 297.

‡ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii, p. 89.

§ Dugdale's Monastican, vol. v, p. 339.

created

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created Earl of Chester;* much less could it have been his son, who had no property in Cumberland. Moreover, the monks of Calder always recognised the possessors of the Barony of Egremont as representatives of their founder; and Tonge† absolutely states that the monastery was founded by Ranulph de Meschines, Lord of Egremont, and gives as arms of the Abbey, on one shield the coats of Fitzwalter, Lucy, and Harrington, the respective heads of which great families married in the fourteenth century the three co-heiresses of the barony. It was certainly this Ranulph who gave Ennerdale to Saint Bees,‡ rather an unlikely donation to have been conferred during the life of his father, and Tonge gives exactly the same representatives of founders for the Priory as for Calder.§ He no doubt died young, and Alice, his sister and heiress, became the wife of William Fitz Duncan, Lord of Allerdale-below-Derwent. He was the son of Duncan, second of that name, King of Scotland, who was slain in 1094. Fitz Duncan's mother, Etheldreda, is said to have been the grand-daughter of Waldeoff, first Lord of Allerdale, who certainly did not receive a grant of that Lordship until about 1120, assertions conflicting and irreconcilable. The Chronicon Cumbriæ, not a very good authority, I grant, says she was sister of the first Waldeoff, and this statement at any rate does no violation to chronology, and it has been adopted by Skene, and by Douglas.‖ The death of Henry I. in 1135, and the anarchy which resulted, would give Fitz Duncan an opportunity of indulging his Scotch leanings, and it may be that he manifested them openly and to his own detriment. In 1138 his uncle David, King of Scotland, took up arms, ostensibly on behalf of his

* Hodgson Hinde, Introduction to the Pipe Rolls for Cumberland and Westmorland, pp. xix and xliii.

† Visitation of the Northern Counties. (Surtees Society, vol. 41, p. 73.)

‡ Harleian MSS., Brit. Mus.

§ Visitation, ut supra, p. 94.

‖ Celtic Scotland, vol. i, p. 438. Peerage of Scotland, p. 438, ed. 1764.

niece

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niece, the Empress, but much more probably for his own advantage. William Fitz Duncan was at the head of an expedition which marched through and ravaged in the most inhuman manner his own inheritance in Cumberland and that of his wife in Cumberland and Craven. He was victorious in a great battle fought near Clitheroe, and Richard of Hexham, a chronicler of that age, gives an account of the atrocities perpetrated, principally, no doubt, by the Galwegians in his army. "They ravaged Craven with sword and fire, sparing no rank, no age, no condition, and neither sex. They first slew children and kindred in the sight of their relations, lords in the sight of their serfs and the opposite, and husbands in the sight of their wives; then, oh, most shameful! they led away noble matrons, chaste virgins, mixed alike with other women, and the booty, driving them before them naked, in troops, tied and coupled with ropes and thongs, tormenting them with their lances and pikes. This had been done previously, but never to such an outrageous extent."* It was on the occasion of this invasion, in the year 1138, that the monks of Calder fled from their new habitation.† Although David met with a bloody defeat at the Battle of the Standard two months later than the success of his nephew at Clitheroe, he appears to have gained what was probably his principal object in the invasion, for Cumberland, Westmorland, and part of Northumberland, were ceded to him by Stephen in the following year.‡ He, or his son Henry, founded the monastery of Holm Cultram,§ and he and Fitz Duncan were benefactors to St. Bees,‖ as well as other religious houses in the district. He confirmed his nephew, Fitz Duncan, in the possession of Craven in 1151;** nay, the

* Richard of Hexham. (Surtees Society, vol. 44, pp. 81 and 83.)
† Beck's Furness, p. 124.
‡ Archæological Journal, vol. xvi, p. 232, on the Early History of Cumberland.
§ Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. v, p. 609.
‖ Harleian MSS.
** Chroniele of John, Prior of Hexham. (Surtees Society, vol. 44, p. 163.)

pretensions

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pretensions of the Scotch monarch, consequent upon the weakness of Stephen, attained such magnitude that he presumed to promise to Ranulph de Gernons, Earl of Chester, the county of Lancaster in lieu of the district which had been surrendered by his father.* It was in this year, 1151, and, perhaps, consequent upon the death of Fitz Duncan, who had received a confirmation of his possessions in Skipton and Craven in the very same year from David, King of Scotland,† that his wife and son transferred her mother's foundation of Embsay for Canons Regular to Bolton,‡ which partly owing to its natural beauty and partly to the affecting death of this very William, the child of many hopes, some years subsequently, has become beyond any similar scene the theme and the inspiration of poet and painter. Upon the death of Alice, wife of Fitz Duncan, of which no record exists, the inheritance fell to three co-heiresses. Cecily is supposed to have had Skipton, Annabel Allerdale-above-Derwent, and Alice Allerdale-below-Derwent. Cecily, the eldest daughter, married firstly, Alexander Fitz-Gerald, and secondly, William Le Gros, Earl of Albemarle, who died in 1179, leaving a daughter, Hawise, who, February 21, 1180, married William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex; he died December 15, 1189, and she became the wife, probably in the same year, of William de Fortibus, who died in 1194. Her third husband was Baldwin de Bethune; all three, in right of Hawise, were known as Earls of Albemarle. I cannot say whether William, her son by her second marriage, succeeded at once to the title, or she retained it until her decease, for she survived her third husband, who died in 1212.§ I have been thus minute in detail because these facts bear upon the history of the Castle. Although the

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i, p. 38.
† John of Hexham. (Surtees Society, vol. 44, p. 163.)
‡ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. i, p. 472, *note*.
§ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i, pp. 62 and 63.

landed

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landed possessions of Fitz Duncan and his wife were ultimately partitioned as I have mentioned, there seems to have been some usurpation, particularly on the part of Cecily and her daughter, for in 1182 occurs an entry in the Pipe Rolls, the first of a series which I cannot clearly understand, "Arthur the son of Godard (Lord of Millom), renders account of one hundred pounds and ten fugatores, (which Hodgson Hinde calls 'chascurs,') for the recognition of one Knight's fee against the Countess of Copeland, paid into the treasury twenty-five pounds, and he owes seventy-five pounds and ten fugatores."* This form of entry is repeated in payment of thirty-four pounds in 1183,† of twenty-five in 1184,‡ of ten in 1185,§ leaving one hundred shillings and ten fugatores owing, which sum is paid in 1185; "The Knights of the Court of the Countess of Copeland render account of one hundred shillings because they gave judgment on a plea which did not belong to them."‖ In 1188 the curious balance of ten fugatores is duly settled.** Another entry occurs in 1192; "The County of Copeland owes two marks for concealment on account of the land of Reginald de Lucy," and "Reginald owes five shillings and eleven pence for the same."†† Now, Reginald certainly married Annabel, the co-heiress, and Hodgson Hinde thinks that Annabel was Countess of Copeland, but I cannot subscribe to this view. I find a grant made to Calder Abbey by Cecily, Countess of Albemarle, and Lady (Domina) of Copeland, of a manse in the borough (*sic*) of Egremont, two salt pans in Withowe, a fishery in Derwent, and another in Egre;‡‡ and another grant by the

* Pipe Rolls for Cumberland, p. 31; and Introduction to same, p. xxxix.
† Ibid, p. 26-33.
‡ Ibid, p. 36.
§ Ibid, p. 38.
‖ Ibid, p. 40.
** Ibid, p. 51.
†† Ibid, p. 67.
‡‡ Archæologia Æliana, vol. ii, pp. 386-7.

Countess

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Countess of Albemarle of the chapel of Loweswater and some minor benefactions to the Priory of Saint Bees.* During the period at which the above-cited entries occur in the Pipe Rolls, Cecily was a widow, her husband having died in 1179, and Hawise, her daughter, was wife of William de Mandeville and Countess of Albemarle in her own right, and as Cecily, her mother, was also a Countess, she was, it may be, called Countess of Copeland to distinguish her from her daughter. From 1189 to 1199 a regular annual payment occurs in the same accounts in which the Countess of Albemarle is mentioned.† From all this it seems certain that Cecily and her daughter had been exercising, and continued to contend for, rights which belonged to Annabel, the co-heiress, or her husband, Reginald de Lucy, who is only mentioned in one entry other than the one I have quoted.‡ It was during this period of comparative darkness in the history of the Castle that, about 1180, the entrance tower and much of the external wall were built. Upon the death of Reginald a ray of light is cast on the difficulties as to possession by some entries in the Pipe Rolls, for under the year 1200 occurs an entry of which I translate part. "Richard de Lucy, the son of Reginald de Lucy, renders account of three hundred marks, and the Earl of Albemarle and his wife, and Robert de Courtenay and his wife, &c."§ In 1201 a similar entry occurs, but Hawise is there mentioned as the wife of the Earl of Albemarle.‖ "In 1204 Richard de Lucy renders account of fifteen marks and one palfrey, that there may be an inquiry by the oaths of twelve lawful men what customs and services his men were accustomed and ought to pay, and what they were accustomed and owed to make to his ancestors for the tenements which they held from him in

* Harleian MSS.
† Pipe Rolls, pp. 52, 55, 59, 62, 66, 69, 73, 76, 85, 89.
‡ Ibid, p. 63.
§ Ibid, p. 97.
‖ Ibid, p. 103.

Copeland

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Copeland."* Similar entries occur, and others relating to his marriage with Ada, one of the two co-heiresses of Hugh de Morville, and her property, and others of an official nature. He died young in 1215, for in that year "Alda, who was the wife of Richard de Lucy, renders account of two hundred and sixty-five pounds four shillings and elevenpence for having her heritage, as is contained in the preceding roll, paid into the treasury by her thirty-five pounds, and sixty-five pounds seventeen shillings and tenpence by the hands of her sureties, and she owes one hundred and sixty-four pounds seven shillings and one penny."† In the same year that Richard de Lucy died, Thomas de Multon, with that chivalrous regard to his own interest which certainly characterised the time, paid a thousand marks to the king for the wardship of the deceased baron's two daughters; and he still further showed his business capacity by marrying the young ladies to his sons by a former wife, and espousing the widow, who was herself, as has been stated, a great heiress. Lambert de Multon, the eldest son, who married Annabell, the elder co-heiress, retained his name, and took the Barony of Egremont for his wife's inheritance; whilst Alan, who married Alice and adopted his wife's surname, took that part of her aunt Alice de Romelli's estate which came to the family upon her death without children, and established himself at Cockermouth. Passing over the first half of the twelfth century, I merely note that Thomas died in 1240, and his son, Lambert, in 1247.‡ Both these barons were benefactors to Saint Bees.§ Thomas, who succeeded his father, Lambert, probably erected the great hall of the Castle. His son, named Thomas de Multon, died in 1286, in his father's lifetime, leaving, as appears from the Inquisition,

* Pipe Rolls, p. 112.
† Ibid, p. 158.
‡ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii, pp. 564, 567, 569.
§ Harleian MSS.

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a son, also called Thomas, " who was eleven years old on Sunday, in the first week in Lent." The wife of Thomas, jun., called Edmunda, had pre-deceased her husband.* Thomas, sen., died 1293, leaving his widow, Margaret, surviving;† and Thomas, the third in descent, but the second by succession, inherited. He was one of the most important men of his age and country. His name figures on the Roll of Carlaverock,‡ and he also signed the Protest of the Barons of England to Pope Boniface. On March 2, 1275, an Inquisition was held on the death of Avelina de Fortibus, descendant and heiress of Cecily Fitz-Duncan, and wife of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, who died childless, and Edward took her lands into his own possession. In 35 Edward I., (1306), Thomas de Multon, third of the name, and his cousin, Thomas de Lucy, put in their claim for the Fitz-Duncan inheritance, as descendants from Annabell, sister of Cecily, when it appeared that in 4 Edward I. a certain John de Eston had claimed to be descended from Amicia, a second daughter of Cecily, and upon a jury deciding in his favour, Edward had compounded for his claim by conferring upon him "a hundred pound lands." At this point both the King and Thomas de Lucy died. In the first year of Edward II. he granted Skipton to Piers de Gaveston and Margaret his wife, niece to the King.§ In 9 Edward II. Thomas de Multon and Anthony de Lucy again sought to establish their claim,‖ and in the following year an agreement was come to that John de Multon, son and heir of Thomas, should marry Joanne, daughter and heiress of the unhappy favourite, the King giving a thousand pounds to her portion;** but this arrangement never took effect, so far as the marriage

* Calendarium Genealogicum, p. 379.
† Ibid, p. 491.
‡ Nicolas's Siege of Carlaverock, p. 8.
§ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii, p. 42.
‖ Abbreviatio Placitorum. 9 Edw. II., p. 323.
** Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii, p. 44.

was

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was concerned, owing probably to her early death, yet Multon got the money, for Joanne had been previously betrothed by her father to Thomas, son of John, Lord Wake, who having neglected to carry out his agreement, perhaps owing to the miserable end of her father, had to pay that amount as a fine for breach of contract. John de Multon married* Annabell, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Laurence de Holbeche; and Robert de Clifford, who, in the 4th year of Edward II., had exchanged his paternal estate in Monmouthshire for Skipton, remained undisturbed in his possession.† So far as I am aware no further claim was ever made.

In the year 1315 Robert Bruce invaded England, and committed great ravages in the northern counties.‡ James Douglas at this time did much mischief at Egremont, and spoiled the church of Saint Bega,§ and it was probably either in this invasion, or that of 1322, (in which the Scottish monarch "spoiled the Abbey of Holm Cultram where the body of his father was buried, and proceeded through Copeland devastating and plundering,"‖) that injuries were inflicted on the Abbey of Calder which were never repaired, and which may be traced at the present day. Thomas died about this time (but whether before or after the second invasion I cannot say), leaving a widow named Eleanor, who had for her dower "the Castle of Egremont, with a multitude of lands to the said Manor and Castle belonging." John de Multon, the last of his name, died childless 23rd November, 1335, whereupon the Barony passed to his three sisters as co-heiresses, and the partition was made much in the same way as that in the case of the Barony of Kendal. The Caput Baroniæ, "the Castle, with a due proportion of lands," fell, as in that case, to the eldest

* Nicolas's Siege of Carlaverock, p. 110.
† Whitaker's Craven, Morant's ed., p. 299.
‡ Ridpath's Border History, pp. 173-4.
§ Leland's Collectanea, vol. i, p. 24.
‖ Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 246.

daughter

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daughter, Joanne, wife of Robert, Baron Fitzwalter; a third passed to Elizabeth, wife of Walter de Bermicham, who subsequently married Robert de Harington; Margaret becoming the wife of Thomas de Lucy, of the kindred line of Cockermouth.* The next mention we have of the Castle is in the 44 Edward III. (1371), upon the occasion of Walter Fitzwalter, the grandson of Robert, being taken prisoner in the invasion of Gascony, when he was under the necessity of mortgaging the Castle to raise one thousand pounds for his redemption.† On November 20, 1449, Thomas Percy, a younger son of Hotspur, was created Baron Egremont, of Egremont Castle,‡ but he was slain at the battle of Northampton, July 10th, 1460,§ and the Barony is held to have expired, certainly it was never claimed. This creation took place during the minority of John Ratcliff, son of John Ratcliff and Elizabeth, heiress of the Fitzwalters. It is possible that the Castle may have been still unredeemed, and the money have been advanced by the Percies. It is stated by William of Worcester that a quarrel, the origin of which is unknown, took place between the Earl of Salisbury and this Thomas Percy, and that this disagreement was the occasion of a minor but still bloody civil war in the North before it developed, as it subsequently did, into the great war of the Roses; the one side ranging themselves under the banner of York, who being brother-in-law of the Earl of Salisbury had naturally espoused the Neville cause, whilst the other party rallied round the great Percy family, in which loyalty to the Lancastrian line was, however, as we well know, by no means an hereditary feature. The ordinances of Henry during the early stages of the dispute do not manifest any bias towards either side, though we seem to gather that

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii, p. 569.
† Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i, p. 422.
‡ Collins's Peerage, vol. ii, p. 359.
§ Hall's Chronicle, p. 244.

Percy

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Percy was not entirely blameless.* Between 1527 and, I think, 1529, Henry Algernon Percy, sixth Earl of Northumberland, called "the unthrifty," the unfortunate lover of Anne Boleyn, bought from Robert Fitzwalter (then Viscount Fitzwalter), the third part of the ancient Barony, including the Castle, and he thus became possessed of two-thirds, the other portion being then vested in Henry Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, father of Lady Jane Grey, whence that share is called the "Marquis's share. Notwithstanding the alienation, Henry Ratcliffe, second Earl of Sussex, who died in 1556, son of that Viscount Fitzwalter who sold the share, is called "Baro de Egrimond" on his tomb in Boreham church, as is also his son Thomas, who died in 1583, the great counsellor of Queen Elizabeth, so well known to all as one of the characters in Kenilworth.† His half-brother, Egremond Ratcliff, played a prominent part in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1538, for his share in which he fled abroad, and was put to death on a charge of contemplating the murder of a Prince of Austria.‡ On the death of the Earl of Northumberland referred to, the whole of the Percy estates fell to the Crown, but they were granted by Philip and Mary, April 30, 1557,§ to Thomas, nephew and heir of the last possessor, on whose execution, August 22, 1572, for his share in "the rising in the north," his brother Henry inherited. He caused a survey to be taken of the whole of the Percy estates. When at a court holden at Egremont, May 20, 1578, it was found that "The Castle of Egremont is now all most ruinated and decay'd, save that some part of the old stone work and walls thereof are yet standing, and one chamber therein now used for the Court house in like ruin and decay. About which Castle is a pleasant dry dich, and without the

* Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, vol. vi., 22 Hen. VI.—1443 to 39 Hen. VI.—1461, pp. 35, 59, William of Worcester, p. 476.

† Rubbings from Brasses, penes me.

‡ Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569, pp. 71, 73.

§ Copy of Grant, penes Rev. W. E. Strickland.

said

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said dich hath been the base court now called the Castlegarth, the site of which said Castle together with the said Castlegarth contain by est. 2 acres, and worth to be lett p. ann. 14s. 6d."* This account of its condition in 1578 does not, after the further exposure of another three-quarters of a century, appear to leave much work for Cromwell and the Parliamentarians, to whom the destruction has been generally ascribed; and as Algernon, the ninth Earl of Northumberland, was on the popular side, I do not see how any further demolition could accrue at that period. And now, as Mohammed II. exclaimed when he entered Constantinople and contemplated the ruin he had made, "The spider has woven his web in the Imperial Palace and the owl has sung her watch song in the towers of Afrasiab."

"And many a century it stood,
To prove its ancient fame,
Though but some lowly walls now bear
Egremont's honoured name.
Its princely hall, its bastions strong,
Its chapel turrets fair,
Are gone like cloud-built palaces
And castles in the air."

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* Percy Survey, copy, penes Rev. H. Curwen, Rector of Workington.

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Key to Egremont Castle.

A. The S. wall of the Great Hall. c 1270

B The Entrance Tower. begun bef: 1158. finished. later. & rebuilt late still at N.E corner

C A bastion Tower ? 13th Cy ? now destroyed.

D A largish Tower is shewn here in Buck's view. 1739. Kitchen &c.

I Wet moat filled probably from the Book well. deeper formerly.

F. Postern or Town-gate late Norman.

G. Dry Fosse falling into the valley. deeper formerly.

H. Site of Barbican & rear-way from the Town Bridge.

I. Town- or Church 'vent'

K Probable gate on to 'fore-close' under the front wall

L Road from the Bridge

M An older Norman wall.

N. Possibly a tilt-yard.

O,O. Probable line of palisades ? with Echaugettes of wood

P. Bretesche to Hall gate, with portcullis groove.

Q Fragment of Window-jamb. fine

R. 'Tresaunce' or 'Screens' of the Hall.

S. Entrance way

T Oldest Wall.

U. Probable site of a Barbican

V. Depressed Roadway.

a. Staircase-turret to Entrance Tower.

b. Wide-jointed early Norman masonry.

c. ? Late Norman work of 3 dates

d. Large fallen fragments.

e. Site of sheds &c.

f fire-places. One in the Court-house 14th Century. notice the arch-stone

g. Probable drawbridge.

h. ? Modern site of flagstaff.

Notes. 1. The Outer Bailey, ab. 120 ft × 105 ft is considerably lower than the Inner ab. 65 × 36 across the ruins.

2. The inner face of Entrance Tower B is rather older than the outer.

3. From B to K in the old 'herring-bone' wall are 'put-log' holes of early Norman building: this is therefore the oldest part.

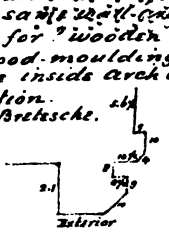
4. In the same wall are square holes probably for 'hourdes.'

5. Holes for ? wooden corbels in wall.

6. The hood-mouldings of the Hall Windows.

7. B. the inside arch of portal too low for a man on horseback.

8. P. Section at Bretesche.



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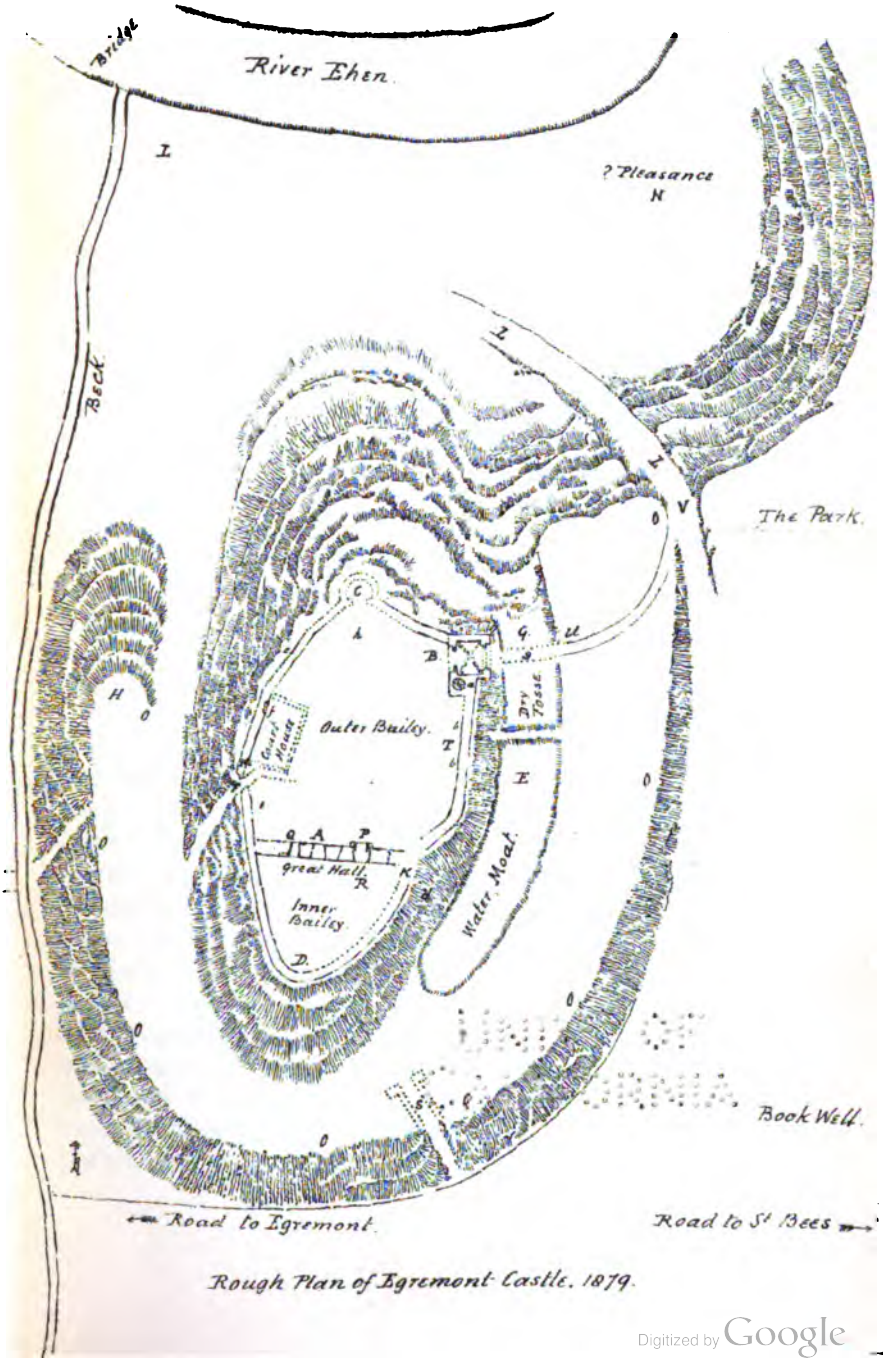

Rough Plan of Egremont Castle. 1879.

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ART. XVA. — *Egremont Castle.* By the REV. E. H. KNOWLES, M.A., Hon. Canon of Carlisle, and W. JACKSON, F.S.A.

Read at Egremont, August 31st, 1881.

THIS site, on which we stand, is possibly that of a rude hill-fort of pre-historic times. Two fragments found in the ancient church of St. Mary here, make it certain to me that the Romans had a camp, and a considerable settlement in this place, to which I doubt not this castlehill gave outlook and strength. Here William de Meschines built a small stronghold; but it has altogether vanished, as the earliest remains now existing are later than his day by a good many years. Mr. Jackson and I offer you a rough plan of these ruins, to which I shall refer in these brief notes, and you must please accept our apology for some vagueness, and some curtness, since we have not been able to prepare for your visit to-day by any excavations.

The wall at T, and the lower part of the Entrance Tower at B, are surely of earlyish Norman work, for they are rude and wide jointed, shew what has been called herring-bone work, and have one curious feature, which I have found only in buildings of the first half of the twelfth century. Norman builders of that age, in making thick walls, at every three or four courses laid on the wall an oaken log, smoothed round and sloping into the wall for some four feet, at a gentle inclination upwards. Before the mortar set, they pulled it out, and afterwards stopped the opening with a small stone, which has often decayed and fallen out. This was adopted, I think, for the cooling and drying of walls, the heart of which was hot grout. Observe that these holes occur here, with the herring-bone masonry, only in the wall of the west front, at T, and they mark the oldest part

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part of the ruins, dating from about 1140. If ever there was a keep of stone, it was small, and probably became ruinous, or was removed as uncomfortable by the middle of the thirteenth century.

To describe these remains very briefly: They stand on an oval hill, steeply scarped on all sides, and rising rather suddenly towards the north end, where the lord's keep or house always stood, fronting the road over the moor, from the Abbey of St. Bees to the town of Egremont. A lower plateau, some eighteen to thirty yards wide, also scarped, and most probably palisaded, surrounds this small fortress, except on the side of the river. Gateways, to the two upper yards or baileys, exist at B and F, and probably at K. The last opened on to a palisaded "lice" or "foreclose," made for sallies in time of siege. Three roads approached the castle, one from the coast, one from St. Bees, and another was the great southern way, surely a Roman road, from the south, Calder, Millom, &c. At V, in the plan, you will notice a depression, which warrants me in saying that, from the bridge and southern gate of the Borough of Egremont, one way led up here through a barbican, of which are some traces at H, to the postern gate of the castle, while the other, bent upwards along the tilting ground or pleasaunce at N, and then curved back to the front or principal portal. Again, at S, we think, are traces of a fortified way through the palisades up to the lower even plateau, and so up to K. At U, probably stood a barbican tower, which has altogether perished, for the protection of the drawbridge or the causeway. Crossing the dry ditch here, we have, directly in front of us, the entrance tower, the lower part of which may date from 1130—1140, coeval with the most ancient walling at T. There was no portcullis. In this far north, we think, such things were not used in small fortresses so early as the twelfth century. Strong doors were the only defence, except the drawbridge, which was raised by a chain

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chain that passed through the small loophole, visible in the face of the tower, at B. The entrance, you see, is up a very steep incline, and all its details are gone. The lower part seems to have been filled with a very strong wooden platform, on which the doors opened and the drawbridge was worked. Horsemen must have dismounted and led their steeds up a short paved way, flanked by narrow stone steps, to the inner door, which was, I think, contracted in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

Of the two upper courts or baileys, the outer one is about one hundred and twenty feet in length by sixty-three in breadth. Its north side is commanded by the facade, once very noble, of the great hall, which, somewhere about 1260, superseded the lord's Norman keep or dwelling-house. This has three interesting features, a simple but excellent hoodmoulding, a good fragment of window-jamb at Q, and a small bretesche, if I may call it by that somewhat vague name, provided with a groove for a portcullis, and projecting some two feet from the wall above the doorway, at P. A rough section of this is given on the plan. Entering the site of the hall, we see only traces of the "screens," and of the window-seats. The windows, doubtless, had two lights, and were protected partly by their height above the lower court, partly by strong stanchions and wooden shutters. We may add that there are no signs of a chapel; my lord was, possibly, contented with the masses said in the church of his burgh, which was built about 1140, on the site, probably, of a still older church, for Egremont must needs have been one of the many missionary stations of this district. We find neither well, nor garderobe, but probably the accumulation of rubbish accounts for this. The walls of this inner bailey have nearly perished; fragments alone remain detached here and there on the hillside; for, until the last few years, this castle has been a quarry for the builder, and wholly at the mercy of the more mischievous visitor.

To

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To conclude, the smaller boroughs of Cumberland, such as Cockermouth and Egremont, seem to have had neither stone walls nor stone gates. Secondly and lastly, this is a natural hill, only scarped and improved by art. It was possibly a pre-historic fortress, then fortified by the Romans for a watch tower to their Egremont camp, then built on by the Norman lord, harried by Scotch invaders and re-built; then for a long time neglected, more or less; then ruined by some such Parliamentary coup-de-grace as dismantled so many large feudal castles; then for two hundred years the prey of the builder, and the spoil of the idler; but the wreck is noble, and has at least some of its history written on it and we may be thankful for what remains, and hopeful also, seeing that due care is now, at least, taken for its preservation.

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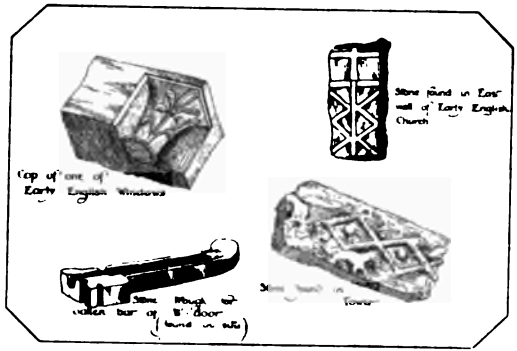
Plate V.

1.



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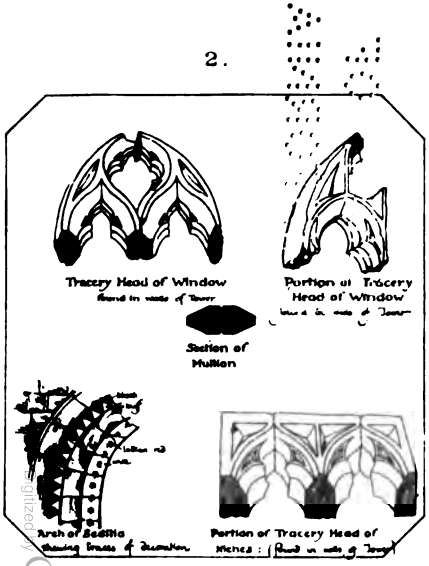

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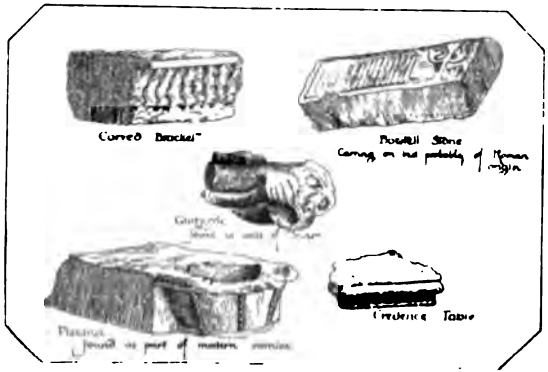

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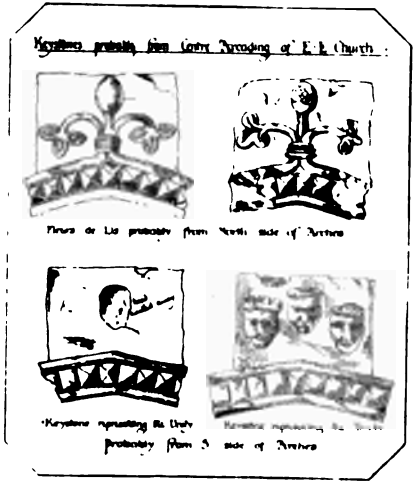

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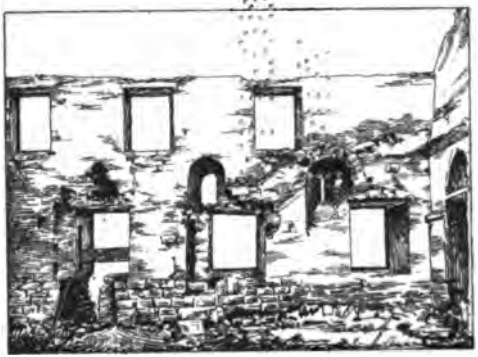
Parish Church : Egremont : Cumberland

Plate IV.

1.

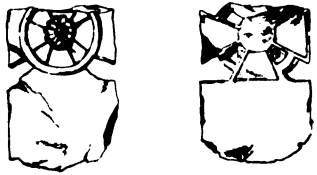


Sketch shewing Norman windows
(Interior view)

2.

Vest door with backing to Niche over Jdr Thorn Saint

3.



Crosses found bedded in East wall
of Early English Church

Sketch shewing Norman apse
and Priest's door

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1.

Sketch shewing West end (interior)
with line of the double roof distinctly marked & deeper arch of West door

2.

Sketch shewing Norman Soffits

3.

Sketch shewing Early English East End Window

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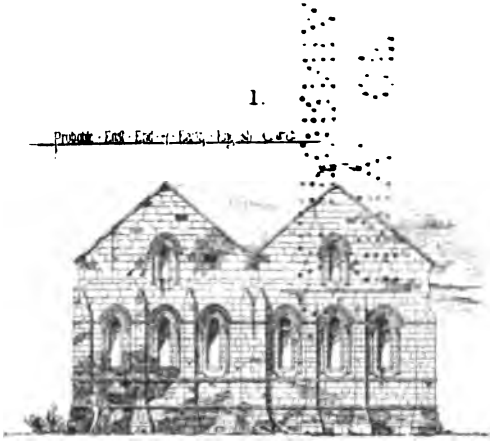
1.



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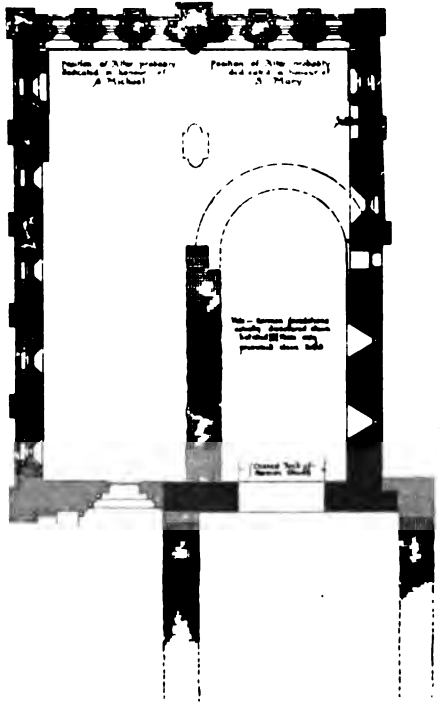

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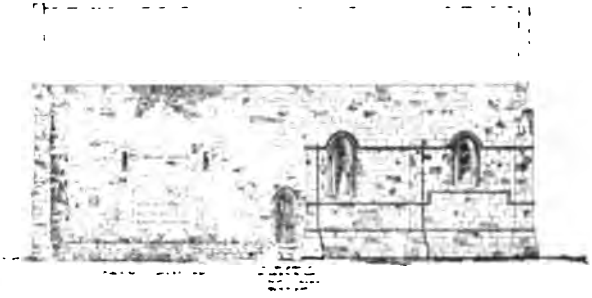

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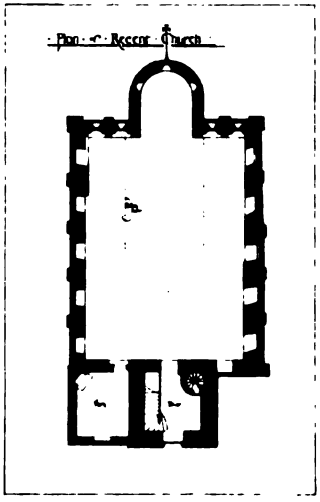
1.

View of Modern Church from S.W.
shewing Norman Chancel Arch at N.

2.



3.

Sketch shewing Modern Church East end
Chancel built in 1752. Windows in some of later date

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ART. XVI.—*The Parish Church, Egremont.** By T. LEWIS BANKS, A.R.I.B.A., Finsbury Circus, London.

Read at Egremont, August 30th, 1881.

DURING the pulling down of this ancient Parish Church many things unknown, and unsuspected, were revealed, and although the building no longer exists, these new revelations may prove interesting to lovers of church architecture.

The story can be best told as it was first told. The building shall speak for itself in the order it spoke before, and each stone unravel its own mystery.

The church in our day was in appearance severely Puritan, square on plan, with an uninteresting tower in the middle of the west front, and a still more uninteresting chancel at the east end. The north, south, and west walls were pierced with square windows, devoid of proportion and regularity. The roof was tie-beamed and flat-pitched. Rough-cast had once covered the walls externally, but by the kindness of the rains of many seasons, such as this, had nearly disappeared. Internally, the walls were thickly coated with plaster. The ceiling drooped and bagged, and threatened to come down at any moment, giving one a favourable impression of the courage of the worthy rector and his parishioners, who dared to worship amid such imminent peril.

A gallery surrounded three sides of the church. It was approached by a dangerous stone staircase, and when reached had not a comfortable pew in it. The pulpit, a wooden structure, (said to have been designed and built by a tramp,—if so, it did him credit,) like everything else,

* Confer an account of this Church by Canon Knowles, vol. i. these Transactions, p. 300.

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showed signs of giving way; nothing but experience could convince it was safe to enter it. Every motion of the body made it rock like a cradle. The panels and mouldings were loose, and some had fallen out without any attempt being made to repair them. The floor was unevenly paved, and its area was covered with pews of all sizes and shapes. A cold, damp, fusty atmosphere had permanent residence there. The vestry at the west end was fittingly comfortless and unsightly. At the east end were four beautiful windows of early English architecture, evidently considered intruders, and sadly mutilated when the side galleries were erected. On the north side, externally, there remained buttresses, plinth, eaves-course, and a few walled up Gothic heads of windows, all of similar period. Though broken and time-worn, the beauty of these fragments was sadly out of keeping with the rest of the church. In addition to the building, we had two faculties and a contract to guide us.

The faculties are interesting documents, and give us some idea of Egremontian taste in the middle of the eighteenth century. The first is dated 1741, and has reference to the erection of a gallery. The persons applying for it were named Thomas Hinde, Robert Shepherd, John Wood, Richard Shepherd, William Muncaster, William Johnson, William Pearson, Thomas Airey, Thomas Benson, John Ponsonby, William Ponsonby, John Bragg, Henry Dixon, John Herring, Isaac Dickinson, and William Thompson. The reason they assigned for the application was

"That the seats and pews * * * will not conveniently contain the great number of people that usually frequent Divine Service there."

The faculty then goes on to state that this

"Gallery with seats therein and staircase and passage thereto may without detriment to the Fabric of the said Church * * * be conveniently placed and erected in a *vacancy at the West end* of the said church,"

of the situation and dimensions hereinafter particularly mentioned, "To

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"To wit the basis of the said intended gallery to be 2 yds. and 2 ft. from the floor or pavement of the said church, and the length of the said gallery from the west end wall of the said church eastward to be six yards, and the breadth thereof from the north wall to the *Main Pillar* southwards five yds. two feet and a half."

The expression "vacancy at the west end" and the term "Main Pillar" are of importance, as will be seen hereafter.

The number and sizes of the pews are given with the dimensions of the staircase, and mention is made of breaking a hole or passage through the east wall of the steeple to the said intended gallery.

After due notice being given to all who might claim any right or title to the east wall of the said steeple or vacancy above described wherein the said gallery is to be erected, these gallery seats are "confirmed" to those applying for permission to erect the gallery, &c., for their

"Uses of sitting, standing, kneeling, and hearing Divine Service and sermons therein on Sundays, Holydays, and other opportune times without molestation of any other person or persons whatsoever."

It then states the pew belonging to each person, and it appears from the contract dated June 6th, 1741, that in accordance with the amount subscribed by each was the position of his pew. He who gave the most had the front pew, and he who gave the least the back.

One William Herd was the contractor, who undertook to do the whole of the work for £32, out of which he had to pay £2 15s., the charge for the faculty. The highest sum subscribed was by William Pearson, £3 16s., and the lowest by John Herring and Isaac Dickinson, each 18s. 2½d.

In describing the gallery, this contract speaks of its being placed in the "*west end of the north side*," and that its breadth be from the "north wall" to the "south *wall*" of the said church. Again, in giving the size of the front beam to support the gallery, it states it had to be

"12 ft. by 10 ft. square, and so long as to go across the said church and *one foot into the wall on each side.*" In

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In this contract no mention is made of the "main pillar southwards," but of a "wall." One other item mentioned in this contract, but not in the faculty, is of great importance—

"And also to make the window in the west end of the said gallery as large as the room will contain, and also to put in a window on the north side of the said Church opposite to the second seat to the front, two feet broad, and as high as can conveniently be."

Whereupon this William Herd ruthlessly cut away all the reveals and shafts of the west window, and substituted a lintel for the moulded arch, but carelessly left in position two capitals as silent witnesses to his wicked vandalism.*

That which is specially important to remember is the new window in the north wall.

The second faculty is dated 1752. It was obtained for

"Taking down the old roof (which is now in two) of the said church, and to cover the same with one new roof, *and to take away and remove the said old wall in the middle of the said church*, and also to take in about four square yards at the east end of the said church for a chancel, and to sell and dispose of such of the materials as will not be useful in such intended alterations."

Reference is also made to the intended erection of a new altar.

The faculty alleges that the double roof is in "a ruinous condition," that there is great need of room, of which "the said old wall takes up a great deal," and is at the same time of "great disadvantage to the minister," and that the applicants desire to "repair and *beautify* their only place of worship."

Their idea of beautifying is indeed remarkable. It consisted in removing two of the six east end windows, and building a hideous windowless chancel. They blocked up all the Gothic windows, with the exception of two on each side of the chancel arch, and substituted square ones where they could most easily put them. They hacked off wall

* See Plate IV., Drawing 2.

strings,

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strings, externally and internally, and covered with plaster the beautiful ashlar, both outside the church and in. No mention is made of any enlargement of the gallery, but it is evident when the middle wall spoken of was removed the west gallery must have been carried across the full breadth of the church—most likely the side galleries were added at this time also. Tradition (no doubt based on these faculties), spoke of the church as a bi-aisled one, having an arcade down the centre.

The first work of demolition is to clear the inside of the church of galleries and pews. While doing so we have full confirmation of the west end gallery having been built in halves, and at separate times, as stated in the faculty of 1741. The northern half of the gallery is in every particular as described in that document. That the walls may speak, the plaster which hides them is hacked off, no easy work, but well worth the trouble. All that remains of the ancient windows in the north wall is soon brought to light. The two hacked-off string courses, one immediately under the cills, and the other at the level of spring of arch, and passing over the heads as a label mould, are distinctly visible. In the south wall there is a complication of windows, the reason for which was for long insoluble. The first discovery in this wall was a Norman, or very early transitional sedilia. It was, of course, walled up, but when these stones were taken away there still remained on the sides and on the soffit of the arch some traces of colour decoration.* It had no back, and the external ashlar in the rear of it had been renewed, probably in 1741 or 1752, when the square windows were introduced, because one of the ashlar stones at the back of it was the cill of one of the early English windows near it. The sedilia was seven feet away from the south-east angle. Between it and the corner were the remains of a window similar to those in the east end, excepting that it was shorter, the level of the cill

* See Plate III., Drawing 2, and Plate V., Drawing 2.

being

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being raised to admit of the piscina and credence table in the wall beneath. The wall strings under the cills, both externally and internally, although hacked off, were clearly discernible, and were continued from the lower level to the higher, with a vertical rise of about two feet.

The treatment of the inner south-east and north-west angles shows the boldness of the architect. These east end windows had coupled shafts supporting the arch mouldings, but there was no room for the *outer* shafts of the most northern and southern windows if the side walls were continued the same thickness till they united with the east end wall. Therefore, to complete the windows, large chases were left in the side walls at the junction with the end, and the shafts placed in them. These recesses had long since been walled up and plastered over—probably when the church was "beautified"—and the shafts safely hidden from view. This, fortunately, preserved the caps and bases, so that they are the most perfect of all. The windows farthest east in both north and south walls had shafts and arch moulds inside and out, and were in every respect similar to the east end windows. The southern half of these windows—that is four in number, three in the east front and one in the south—were enriched with dog's tooth ornament. The other four had not this enrichment. The window next to sedilia, on the west side, while the same in detail externally, differed from all the others internally. The reveals had a much wider splay, and the moulds on the angle were very uncommon, if not unique; only a part of one side remained. Many stones belonging to the other reveal were found in the masonry supporting gallery stairs, built in 1741, but no inner arch stones to give a clue as to its appearance internally. The remaining windows in the south wall will be referred to later on.

Turning to the west wall, still from the inside, the vestry door is set in an arched recess. The angle of the arch is a bold bead or roll carried down nearly to the ground on the north

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north side, but stopping at the spring of the arch on the south.* It was generally supposed that this was at one time an entrance to the church, but no one suspected there was here walled up, and plastered over, an exceedingly beautiful Early English—almost transitional Norman—doorway.† Over the lintel of the vestry door was observed a semi-circular crack in the plaster, which at first was thought to indicate a relieving arch only, but when the filling in was cleared from under it, it proved to be the sub-ring of a richly moulded arch. Thus encouraged, the work of bringing to light all that remained of the doorway was speedy and interesting. On one side a shaft with cap and base still remained, and sufficient marks to indicate where the others had been. Over the doorway were remains of a heavy projecting hood. Some of these stones were found in the tower, and one of them had enrichments on it of an earlier date. Above the centre of the door were stones which had formed the back of a niche, probably for the Patron Saint.

The character of this entrance seems unsuited to a porch, but a roof of some kind, and at some time or other, had evidently abutted on the building here, as evidenced by the raking joint of the ashlar and the string passing through the angle buttress, dipping to the level of the eaves of this roof. Later on, when pulling down this doorway, was found in position a long stone trough for oaken bar to bolt the door.‡ This clearly showed it to have been the *outer* door. In the north-west angle, on the level of the floor of the church, one stone attracted attention by its differing from the rest of the paving. Upon excavating, it proved to be the one solitary stone remaining of a stone seat that had extended about two-thirds of the length of the north wall, so far as the break. That it extended so far was clearly shown by pieces of slate wedges under the course

* See Plate III., Drawing 1. † See Plate IV., Drawing 2.
‡ See Plate V., Drawing 1.

of

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of ashlar immediately above the seat. This shows the ashlar to have been underpinned when the seat was removed. A seat of exactly similar detail exists in Fountains Abbey. This stone supplied, what was otherwise unattainable—the level of the original floor, which was about fifteen inches below that of the recent floor. A portion, however, extending nearly fourteen feet from the east wall, westwards, appears to have been raised to about the level of the recent floor.

The semi-circular arch spanning the chancel is made of stones of irregular sizes and detail.* The chancel having been built in 1752, these arch stones must have been used for other arches previous to that date. The tradition that the church was once a double chantry or chapel, being divided by an arcade down the centre, seems to be so far corroborated. Further evidence of such an arcade is sought for by excavating down the middle of the building. Instead of finding the foundations for columns as anticipated, there are exposed to view the foundations of a wall, about four feet thick, extending from the west end about thirty feet. At this distance all traces of foundations cease. The rough foundation walling ends with one worked stone with square angle, set back about a foot from the north face of foundations. This sudden termination of the wall, and this stone evidently in position, were inexplicable. The inside of the building fails to supply any further clue to a probable arcade, and the meaning of this centre foundation.

Will the outside? On the south side of the tower the west front of church has different walling from that on the north side. This same character of walling—rubble—is continued round on the south elevation for about two-thirds of the length. From this point, all round the church, till it joins the tower again, the walling is ashlar. The south-west angle buttress, though very old, is evidently not the original corner of the church. The other buttresses, string courses and plinth on this rubble work, are miserable shams, stuck

* See Plate III., Drawing 3.

on

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on within the memory of those living, to imitate the remainder of the building.

The remains of an arch in the southern portion of the west front, although walled up, are distinctly visible.* This arch, in size and detail, precludes the idea of its having been at any time an entrance to the church. It has every appearance of a Norman chancel arch. If so foundations may still exist of the ancient church. Commencing at the angle buttress the old foundations are soon reached, and the return wall or south wall of this church, which was followed for some distance. Much of the foundation has been removed in the process of interment. The corresponding wall on the north side was cut through when preparing the trenches for the new church. This, then, fully explains the foundation of a wall in the middle of the church.

This double early English chapel had for its basis a Norman chancel. All efforts to find traces of foundations of an apsidal termination proved fruitless, but when pulling down the south wall the last few courses of masonry showed the junction between the Norman and early English exactly, and supplied the missing link, giving us the radius of the apse, showing the apse to join the middle wall at the point where the hewn stone referred to was.†

In the south wall, amongst the rubble, was observed a stone with a semi-circular piece cut out of the bottom of it. This proved to be the head of a small window. It had been filled up at the date of the early English portion, and the mortar was so hard, that it almost defied tools to remove it. A second window, not quite so perfect, was also found. The shape of the windows, and the way in which they were constructed, point to very early Norman period.‡ There is a window cill low down, under the second Norman window. It is the same as the early English cills, and taken in connection with the reveals which could not be

* See Plate I., Drawing 1. † See Plate IV., Drawing 3.
‡ See Plate II., Drawing 3, and Plate IV., Drawing 1.

understood

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understood on the inside, seems to indicate that the early English architect did not consider the Norman windows gave sufficient light, so added other windows under them. The splayed reveal was perfectly plain inside, and there is nothing to show that it had anything more than a lintel for window head. A similar window seems to have been formed a few feet further east. But this window, at some subsequent period, was altered into a door. The cill was lowered to within eight inches of the floor level, and used as a threshold, as its worn appearance testifies. Probably this was the priest's entrance.*

Beneath the rubble walls of this Norman chancel were three courses of masonry, very like Roman masonry. They were not set in Roman mortar, and there is no reason to suppose they were anything more than stones brought from some neighbouring Roman building. Some think the Roman road passed between the church and castle, so there is nothing improbable in such a theory. What adds to the probability is the fact that these Norman builders do not appear to have troubled themselves to quarry stones. Excepting these three courses, all the stones in the chancel walls were boulders gathered out of the river or from the shore. The foundations under the Early English walls were formed of three courses of cobbles, each course distinctly divided by dry gravel and sand. The largest cobbles were in the lowest course.

The points left doubtful in connection with this Early English church, or rather chapel, are—first, the central arcade; second, the height of eaves and structure of roof; and third, the appearance of the west front. A fourth has been added. Was there a tower originally? The comparatively modern steeple contained a bell, probably made in the middle of the fifteenth century, and this leads me to infer there must have been a belfry. But beyond this bell the building supplies no reason for supposing there was a tower.

* See Plate II., Drawing 3.

With

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With respect to the arcade, it seems more than doubtful whether it extended the length of the church. The contract speaks of a wall remaining, although it is true the faculty refers to a main pillar. But the fact that the circular end of the Norman chancel had its foundations grubbed up, while those of its side walls remained, seems to point to the conclusion that the wall also remained. One or more arches would then be thrown from the end of it to unite it with the east wall.* However, whether all or only part of this wall remained cannot easily be determined now. The base, and one stone of the respond pier, were found in the foundations of the modern chancel.† A number of smaller stones, of the same shape, were found, but where they were used it is impossible to say. Stones of exactly the same form are found in the respond column in St. Bees Abbey Church. It is also interesting to note that the windows, buttresses, plinths, and string courses, are almost identical with the best portions of St. Bees Abbey.

At first it seemed reasonable to suppose that what looked like an eaves course on the north wall was the original height of eaves, but this does not appear to have been the case. The bowtell course is unsuited to an eaves, and the small window to be made in the north wall opposite the second pew in the gallery is above this eaves. This window was formed eleven years before the double roof was taken off. Again, continuing the lines of the double roof which remained visible on the tower, they place the ridge in each case over the centre of the upper windows on the east and west elevations, and require the walls to be about the same height as the eaves of the single roof. Is it not very probable that the roofs had no eaves gutter, but parapet or battlement gutters? In that case the height of walling above windows would need some horizontal enrichment,

* It seems almost certain that there were only two arches, and that the centre column was octagon on plan, as some stones of that shape were found.

† They fit in exactly with arch stones of modern chancel arch.

and

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and the architect designed this cornice. The eaves course of the single roof was last century work, and the workmen had no respect for the stones they used. One of them was nothing less than the old piscina.

Some crosses and sides of graves of early and late Norman work were found in the walls of the church. None that can certainly be pronounced Saxon. The tower had a number of stones which evidently never belonged to the church, and which most likely came from the castle, for the castle seems to have been the common quarry about the time the steeple was built. These were castellated battlement stones, tracery windows of fifteenth and sixteenth century, a gurgoyle, etc.

Respecting dates, the Norman chancel could not be much later than 1130. Except the string at chancel arch, everything speaks a much earlier date. The early English church was probably built between the years 1195 and 1214. The almost Norman sedilia, west door, and depressed window arches point to the earlier date, while the exceeding beauty of the detail incline to the later.

The Piscina being single and not double, which was usual up to the thirteenth century, points to the later date also.

It is most probable that William de Meschines, brother of Ranolph Meschines, was the founder of the Norman Church.

Dugdale's Monasticon, referring to Saint Bees, says:—"William de Mechine (or Meschines) was the founder of Saint Bees"—and a Latin Charter is extant in which he grants "to Saint Mary's, York, the church of Saint Bees, with 7 carucates of land in Coupland, the chapel of Egremont," &c. Hutchinson, Nicolson, and Jefferson, all quote this authority.

The great similarity in architecture between the Early English Church, and portions of the Abbey Church at Saint Bees, and of Calder Abbey, makes it very probable that Ada de

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de Lucy, who was lady of Egremont from 1203 to 1236, either as the wife of Richard de Lucy or of Thomas Moulton, had much to do with the building or completing of the three churches.

For many generations this church has been known as St. Mary's, but by what authority cannot be discovered. Bacon, in his "Liber Regis," calls it St. Michael's, so does J. Gorton in his Topographical Dictionary of Great Britain and Ireland.

In conclusion, it may be asked why so interesting a building was not restored instead of being destroyed? First, because the committee had no option, and second, because it was impossible. Restoration is only possible where there is something to restore, and then only advisable when there is some practical gain by restoration. Too little of the original church was left to permit of restoration. To rebuild on the old lines was impossible, as they are not yet properly understood. What is known was made known by pulling down the walls. It is hoped that a wiser course than attempted restoration has been adopted.

The parishioners will receive a larger and more comfortable church and they will see in the new building all that was of architectural worth in the old. The four east windows spared by the destroyers in 1752 are already in the chancel. The aisle walls of the new church are fac-similes of the side walls of the old. The arch stones which once divided the double chapel will appear in the transcept arches, and the sedilia is built in the vestry wall. The west door would have been made the tower entrance but is so very small that even to teach by symbolism that "strait is the gate and narrow the way" was not sufficient excuse for utilizing it. Possibly it may be built against the boundary wall, for it would be a shame that these stones that have clung together for well nigh seven centuries should now be parted.

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ART. XVII.—*Stone Circles near Shap, Westmorland.** By REV. CANON SIMPSON, LL.D., F.S.A.

IN the neighbourhood of Shap, in the county of Westmorland, may still be seen several of those curious stone circles, the use and object of which have not yet been satisfactorily explaned. They are more or less complete according to the nature and cultivation of the ground upon which they stand, and sometimes consist of two, in some cases of three concentric circles. The stones have been originally upright, though many of them are now fallen, and some of them are partially buried in the ground. In any particular circle, the stones do not much vary in size, but there is a wide difference between those forming one circle, and those used for another. In some instances, the stones are five or six feet in length, and of proportionate thickness. They are, for the most part, though by no means invariably, granite boulders, are of great weight, and must have cost much labour to place them in position. They would not, indeed, have to be conveyed any great distance, and it is not improbable that the difference in sizes of the stones used in the formation of different circles may have depended entirely upon the size and character of the "boulders" scattered about the particular locality in which the circle stands. At Gunnerkeld,† not far from Shap, I had the pleasure of showing Mr. Stuart, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries (of Scotland), one of those circles, the stones of which are of

* Reprinted (revised by the author) from Proc. Soc. Antiq., Scotland, 1st series, vol. iv., p. 443.

† For plan and account of this circle by Mr. Dymond, see Transactions of this Society, vol. iv., p. 538.

great

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great size and weight. At Gamlans,* in the parish of Orton, there are the remains of another, which, with the exception of the long upright stone, is in its general characteristics not unlike the circle in Cumberland, well known as Long Meg and her Daughters.† Several of the stones have been broken up and destroyed, but there is no difficulty in fixing their original site, and clearly tracing the circumference of the circle, the diameter of which is 135 feet. At Gunnerkeld there are two concentric circles, the outer of which measures about 100 feet across, the inner about 49 feet. It may be observed that these measurements cannot be made with exact accuracy, because the stones forming the circles having fallen in different directions, it is not always easy to fix the points to and upon which the measurement should be made. There are other stone circles in the neighbourhood similar to those at Gamlans and Gunnerkeld; but at present I wish to call attention to a class formed of upright stones, much smaller in size, standing not more than twenty inches or two feet above the ground, and I may remark that it is not unusual to find two of these circles adjoining, one of which is much more perfect than the other. I have specially noted two instances in which the circles are concentric, in one of which most of the stones remain, in the other the outer circle has either been partially destroyed, or it may be the few stones now remaining mark the commencement of a work which has never been completed. Two such concentric circles as these I have described may be seen upon

* This place may owe its name, not to the stones themselves, but to the use of the land in former times on which they stand. Laurentius filius Roberti senescalli de Neubygine, in a grant to the monks of St. Mary of Holme, gives them "*communem pasturam trecentis et sexagenta ovibus, et viginti vaccis, et uni tauro, et trigin ta bobus, in campo de Newbyginge.*" What the *campus* was to Newbiggen, the Gamlands or Camplands might be to Orton. Another explanation suggests itself. The place may owe its name to Gamel, the first Lord of the Manor, of whom we have not any account, but this does not seem likely. They would not call the lands Gamel's land, it not being demesne land, unless Gamel devoted it to some special use, or enclosed it for his own use. For plan and account of this circle, see Transactions, vol. v, between pp. 24 and 25, and the paper immediately following this.

† For plan and account of this circle, see Transactions of this Society, vol. iv., p. 537.

Knipe

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Knipe Scar, a short distance from Shap, another in the adjoining field, and two others exactly similar, with the exception of the third innermost circle, may be found at Odendale, in the parish of Crosbyravensworth. I mention these more particularly, because I have had the space within the circles carefully examined, and in each of them discovered faint traces of burnt matter. At Knipe Scar I had the advantage of Mr. Stuart's great experience and careful judgment, and the results of our examination were sufficient to satisfy us that at some remote period burnt matter had been deposited within the innermost of the three concentric circles. Near the centre of the larger and more perfect of the two sets of circles adjoining each other, about eighteen inches below the surface, we found a rough flat-shaped stone, fifteen inches in width and about two feet six inches in length. Under this stone there were evident traces of charcoal and burnt earth, but no bones. The deposit was not exactly in the centre, but rather towards the north-west of the circle, a peculiarity which I noted in two other instances in which the deposit was found. The diameter of the outside circle is sixty-three feet, the second twenty-one feet, and the innermost of the three, within which the flat stone covering the deposit was placed, is seven feet. From the centre of this circle to the centre of the one adjoining, the distance is ninety-six feet. In the centre space of the other circle, about the same depth below the surface, we found a rude pavement of cobbles, about six feet in length and four feet in width, and under the pavement a similar deposit of charcoal. At Odendale, where two circles occupy the same relative positions, there was the same kind of deposit found within the innermost circle; but if there ever had been a stone or pavement, it had been disturbed on some previous occasion when the ground had been partially examined. The position of the deposit was the same as in the circles upon Knipe Scar, and the present condition of the two circles is relatively the

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the same. There is, however, at Odendale a stone placed half-way between the two concentric circles. It is of the same size and character of those forming the circles, and though not in a line due east from the centre, is very nearly so. Neither at Odendale nor Knipe Scar was any deposit found either within the space between the circles or near to or under the stones forming it, though some of them were dug round, and some taken out of their position, and the site carefully examined. I need hardly say that the stones disturbed were replaced, and the circles left as nearly as possible in the condition in which they were found. I do not at present venture to offer any opinion upon the use of these circles, or their date, or the people by whom they were erected, my object is to collect and record facts, not to deduce inferences from or found theories upon these facts; and I shall merely observe that whatever other uses they may have had, they have at some period or other been used as places of deposit for the ashes of the dead. It is, however, worthy of observation, and suggestive of interesting thoughts, that barrows, or what are, in the neighbourhood of Shap, called hurrocks or raises, seem to have been formed in places originally occupied by these stone circles. At a place called Penhurrock, on the same moor as the circles at Odendale, there still exists one of these stone circles, connected with which, at no distant period, there was a large barrow. Tradition says that when the barrow or hurrock was removed burnt bones were found deposited in a small cist-shaped hole cut into the rock, and covered with a flat stone. Within the innermost circle at Gunnerkeld there are still the remains of a barrow or hurrock, which, though disturbed, does not appear to have been at any time thoroughly examined. Barrows or raises similar in character, though not always surrounded by a circle of stones, are by no means uncommon in the locality. At Sill-how, Odendale, closely adjoining the stone circles, I had one of these barrows opened, and on removing the stones,

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stones, found a cist, one side of which was formed by the rock, and the other and the ends of large stones, and the cover was a rough limestone slab cut from the rock, where it had cropped up to the surface, and placed upon its natural bed. The cist was not square, measuring on one side twenty inches, and on the other sixteen inches, the width was thirteen inches, the depth ten inches, and the length of the stone that formed the covering thirty inches. Another raise which I have examined is on Muir Divock, not far from a circle of stones called Standing Stones.* This raise is remarkable, not only because it is star-shaped, but because towards the west side, about half-way between the centre and the circumference, there are four upright stones placed in a straight row, and probably there were originally five. Opposite the largest of these stones, and in the centre of the same, was found a deposit of ashes and burnt bones, which had been enclosed in an urn. The stones forming the heap had been much disturbed, and the urn was broken, but when first discovered the rim was entire, and measured thirteen inches across. It was of the rudest manufacture, imperfectly burnt, and had been placed upside down. The raise could not at that time be further examined, but it is probable that each of the upright stones may have marked a similar deposit. Upon the same moor, within a very short distance, there is another barrow formed in the same way, having the same general appearance, and called by the same name of "raise," which, when opened, was found to consist of a cist formed of stones, and measuring four feet four inches in length, fourteen inches in width, and twenty-six inches in depth. Each of the two sides had originally been formed of one stone, but one had evidently been broken by the workmen employed to place it, and the two pieces were supported by a third. The cover consisted of two

* Since this paper was first published Mr. Greenwell and myself examined the centre of this circle, and found an urn containing burnt bones. Vide vol. i, p. 24, of Transactions of this Society.

limestone

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limestone slabs taken from the surface of the rock, and placed with the natural bed downwards; the bottom was flagged with flat stones of different sizes. This cist or coffin contained portions of a skeleton, and from the position in which the thigh bones were found, it would appear that the legs must have been doubled underneath. The body had been laid east and west, and the thigh bones were at the east end of the coffin. Careful search was made for weapons or ornaments, but nothing whatever could be found. The bones were afterwards restored to their place, and the cover of the cist replaced in its original position. I have mentioned the barrows thus examined, partly because the three, though similar in appearance and character, disclosed three different kinds of sepulture, and partly because, though not now themselves surrounded by upright stones, they are similar to others so encircled, and are all of them in close proximity to stone circles. It is not improbable that the people by whom these barrows or raises were erected occasionally chose the space within an existing stone circle upon which to deposit the ashes of their dead, and then raised a barrow to cover them, and commemorate the fact. At some earlier period the ashes of another race may have been buried in the same place, and a circle of stones formed to mark and protect the deposit. As a general rule, when an urn or cist is covered by a barrow or raise, it seems originally to have been placed on the surface of the ground, and the stones or earth heaped round it. When any deposit is found within a circle of stones it is fifteen or twenty inches below the natural surface, and the ground remains at its original level. Whether these stone circles have had any other use than to mark a place of sepulture, protect the ashes of the dead, or do honour to the deceased, it is impossible to determine. That some of them have been used as places of burial there can be no doubt; that some of them have been twice used by two different races is highly probable; but whether, when originally constructed, they were meant

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meant to enclose the ashes of one person, or of as many as there are stones in the circles, or of a whole tribe, or of the chief of a tribe, it is impossible to say. So far as I have been able to examine the subject, I am inclined to the opinion that in each circle, or each set of concentric circles, there will be found one deposit.* More deposits than one have been found both in circles and barrows, but where such is the case there is reason to believe that the circle or barrow was intended for the central deposit, the others were placed after its construction at a period subsequent to the central deposit. It may be necessary to observe that though many of the stones forming the circles have been carefully examined, I have never found any marks or characters upon them. I have purposely omitted all allusion to the remains of the avenue near Shap, and "the huge stones of a pyramidal form, some of them nine feet high and fourteen feet thick, standing in a row for near a mile, at an equal distance," described by Camden, because the facts connected with this remarkable monument have been recently published in the Archæological Journal, vol. 18, p. 25. But there are scattered about the district several large granite boulders, which seem to have been placed in their present position by the hand of man; and with the kind permission of the Society, I shall on some future occasion have much pleasure in detailing a few facts connected with these huge and massive monoliths in my own immediate neighbourhood.

* See the Leacet Hill circle, Transactions of this Society, vol. 5, p. 76.

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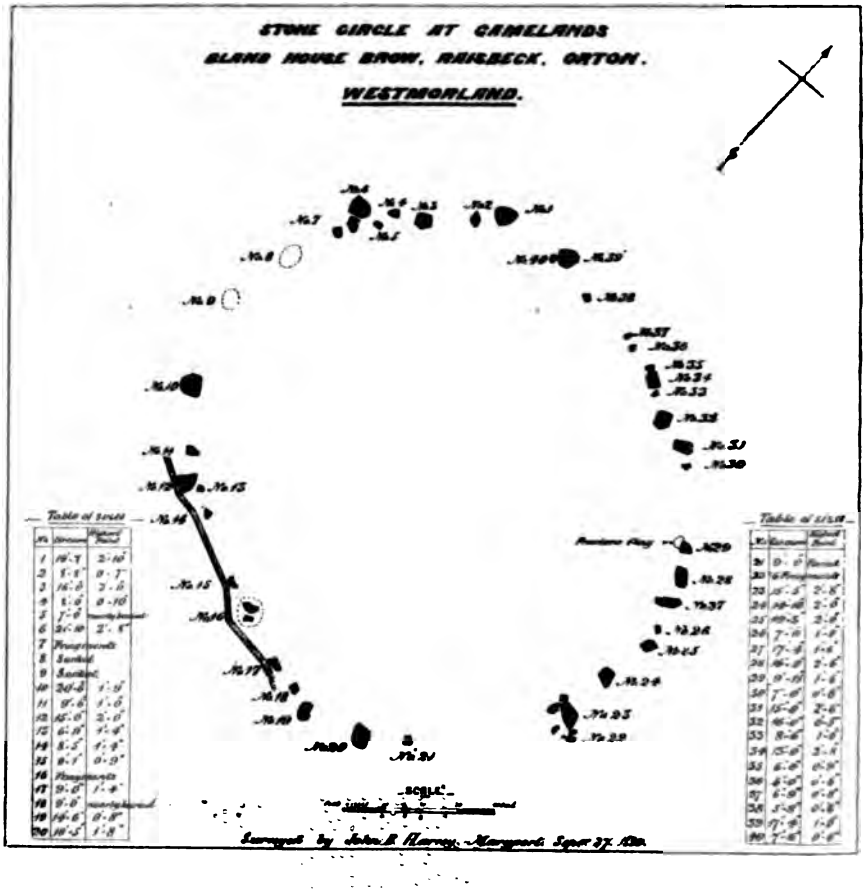

The Society is indebted to Miss Bland for this Plan, which accompanied her paper, "A Link between two Westmorlands."—Transactions, vol. v., p. 25.

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ART. XVIII. — *Stone Circle at Gamelands, Bland House Brow, Township of Raisbeck, Parish of Orton, Westmorland.*

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Read at Penrith, January 20th, 1881.

DURING the summer of 1880, one of our members, (Miss Bland, author of "A Link between two Westmorlands,*") requested me, at her expense, to have surveyed for the purposes of this Society the important stone circle, whose site is defined (rather in pedantic manner, some may think) at the head of this paper. I secured the services of Mr. J. Robinson and Mr. J. B. Harvey, and armed with a photograph, and guided by Colonel Burn of Orton Hall, we reached the proper place, where a labourer was in waiting; Canon Weston also joined us.

Careful measurements were taken of the circle, and an accurate plan was made by Mr. J. B. Harvey, which appeared with Miss Bland's paper, and is reproduced here. There is no appearance of any tumulus within the circle; indeed the ground is rather hollow than otherwise. Had the tumulus been a cairn of stones, the many stone walls in the vicinity would readily account for its disappearance. Enquiry further shows that the field, in which the circle is, had been ploughed about eighteen years ago, the riggs running right through the circle. On that occasion two or three of the stones forming the circle were buried by being rolled into holes dug under them; one or two others were blasted, and the fragments are now lying about. The stones forming the circle have been forty in number, as shown on the plan; the highest stands about 2 feet 8 inches above the ground, and the circumferences at the ground surface varies from 6 feet to 12 feet. None

* Transactions, vol. 5, between pp. 24 and 25.

appear

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appear deeper seated in the ground than 18in. Several appear to have fallen over flat, towards the interior of the circle. With one exception the stones are all of a red coarse-grained granite; the exception is a rough limestone much weathered into holes. The spade, ably wielded by Mr. Robinson, showed any tumulus to have been cleared away down to the natural level of the soil on which it had stood, and that no interments had been made below that level. Two bits of worked flint were found, also a freestone slab, which possibly once formed part of a cist. This was lying next stone 29 (see plan), and my idea is that it was moved there from the centre of the circle when the place was ploughed. The size of this circle (its diameter is 138 feet), makes it one of the most important in England. It is distant a mile only from Orton Hall, the residence of Dr. Burn, and yet he passes it over *sub silentio* in the History of Westmorland and Cumberland, which he and Mr. Joseph Nicolson published in 1777. Not that he ignored it of set purpose; he cannot have known it, for in his account of the parish of Orton he describes a tumulus or British sepulchre thus:—

"Nigh Raisgill Hall, there is a tumulus or British sepulchre, in a regular circle near 100 yards in circumference (*sic*), rising gradually from the extremity to about the height of three yards in the middle. It is composed of loose stones thrown together promiscuously, and in digging lately was found one very large stone supported by one other large stone on each side, and underneath the same was an human skeleton, with the bones of several others round about."

Whelan (Hist. of West., p. 672), applies this account to the circle of which I have been writing, and so did I at first, misled by him, and by some confusion over the name Raisbeck, which applies to a hamlet, and a township, as well as to a stream of water. Burn's description applies (see Hodgson's Westmorland, p. 143, and the Ordnance Map) to a place on a hill near Raisgill Hall, near the junction of the Raisbeck with the Lune. It is marked "British Sepulchre"

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Sepulchre" on the one inch Ordnance Map. I have not yet been able to see it, but Colonel Burn informs me that it is about eighty feet in diameter. No stones are now visible, but some seem buried under mounds of turf. A portion of the cist, mentioned by Dr. Burn, is said to be doing duty as a chimney lintel in a neighbouring house.

The Gamelands circle is not on the one inch Ordnance Map.

The name "Gamelands" is noteworthy, if only that Whelan (Hist. West., p. 762) makes it into "Grantlands." One theory is that it is "Gamelslands," and records Gamel-de-Penington, the first known Lord of the Manor of Orton, who gave Orton Church to the priory of Conishead in the reign of Henry II. Dr. Simpson has a different theory, for which see *ante* p. 177.

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ART. XIX.—*Reminiscences of Lamplugh Hall.* By W. DICKINSON, Thorncroft, Workington.

Read at Egremont, August 30th, 1881.

FEW people are now living who can remember seeing the remnant of the old tower at Lamplugh Hall, standing in the early years of the present century. I have a good recollection of it during my school days of, say, 1808 to 1810, and it behoves myself or some one to jot down a few memorandums of its then appearance, as I think none have yet been in print, and my many inquiries have failed to make out any drawing or picture of it. As part of the parish history it may interest some of the youngsters of the present day, when they become aged, to read what I happen to know respecting Lamplugh Hall, and a little of what I remember to have heard from my parents and others. On my father's side, a part of the property of his ancestors was held by feudal tenure under Lamplugh Hall, and had to furnish a man and horse, with equipments, for forty days service if needful, and three days provisions, when called up to join the Lamplugh troop to repel the Scotch incursions. My grandfather was once called out, with many neighbours, and rode to Carlisle. On reaching there they found the rebels had fled, and they quietly returned home. Some of the foot people were armed with scythes straightened out at the ends of the shafts. Some had pitchforks; some had flails; others had clubs or staves; and all were armed and provisioned to the best of their ability. I well remember a large pair of jackboots, which fastened at the sides, which had been worn by my ancestor for these occasions, and his sword as well, and which I eventually got made into a capital carving knife.* I hardly think it had

* Many of the old mosstroopers' swords have been thus converted, and the well-known "wolf" or "fox" mark may occasionally be recognised in Cumberland farm houses on some well-worn carving knife.—R.S.F.

ever

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ever been fleshed in a human being, but I know it sliced a round of beef exceedingly well. At that time Lamplugh and Murton, with the greater part of the townships of Arlecdon and Whillimore, were held under Lamplugh Hall by suit and service, &c., and nearly all have been since enfranchised with the exception of some small dues. Formerly, boon-days of various kinds of labour were paid to the Lord of the Manor, and a plough was required to go seven times about per day, on Lamplough Hows. The plough draught usually consisted of two or four longhorned oxen, one leading horse, two or more callers or drivers, one man or woman leaning upon the beam to keep the plough acting, and another to re-turn the stiff furrows which in old ley ground were apt to roll back into their places after the plough. All this is now done by one man and pair of horses, and much better.

The old tower was a bulky square building, and stood high. Other buildings of much lesser height were in part connected with it, and all were roofless. From the uneven top of the tower walls it must have been higher, and part had been thrown down and the battlements wilfully demolished, for the standing part seemed sound and without cracks. It stood at the right hand of the entrance to the present farmyard; and the long, low, stables for twenty horses, with cow-sheds, &c., on the opposite side of the public road, along the west side of the churchyard wall, were mostly thatched. The walls of the tower were nine feet thick, and so well cemented together that they had to be blasted down for the stones to be used in the erection of the new farm buildings. Thus was ruthlessly destroyed the finest old tower of this part of the county. The windows of the tower were few and small, and none were near the ground on the exposed sides facing the west and north. There were loopholes and arrow slits in the walls, at varying elevations, and all very narrow. It is reported that the original hall stood where the garden now is, and where terraces

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terraces were formerly visible: and it, of course, adjoined the tower. At the time previously mentioned, the farm house, or more modern hall, was where it now is, having undergone several mutilations and alterations. And in its spacious hall was an oaken table, about 24 feet long, and four feet in width, the top of which was of one plank cut out of a tree said to have grown on Blakefell Screes. Of course it would be on the lower part of the Screes. The half length of that table, much reduced in breadth, now does good service in the kitchen. The very handsome gateway, dated 1595, with the Lamplugh Arms sculptured over the entrance arch, remains in excellent preservation—thanks to the ivy, in part. Within the gate leading to the hall stood a noble avenue of venerable yew trees, a few of which are still there. The three or four fish ponds may yet be traced, but are not reserved for their original use. There was a square building, with pointed windows, on the opposite side of the road from the old parsonage, and near the east end of the church, in which one of the last of the family name, in their declining fortunes, taught a school; but whether owing to the circumstances, or to a taste for the occupation, or to a charitable feeling for the dependants of the house, is not recorded. In old days it was the fashion for the lord to keep a stud of race-horses; and, by way of exercise, the grooms were directed to take the horses to St. Ringan's, *alias* St. Ninian's Well, in Fang's Brow, in Loweswater, to be watered there. This exercise, with an occasional gallop over the benty race-course on Mockerkin Howe, together with the pure water they drank at the well, kept the horses in fine training; and so successful were they with it, that whenever they were taken to run on a distant course, a supply of water from St. Ringan's was taken for their use. A spring called Houndy Well on the estate, near the present lime-kiln, was noted in former days for its astringent effects on "beast and body," as the saying used to be. Whether real or imaginary

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imaginary then it is now hard to say; but no such property is attributed to its waters of the present day. It is beautifully clear and pleasant to drink.

The family lost its name through the want of male heirs; but the property remains with the descendants, of whom the present representative is Walter Lamplugh Brooksbank, Esq. It is on record that Lamplugh of Lamplugh was at the battle of Agincourt, on the 15th October, 1415. Lamplugh of Lamplugh Hall waited upon and attended Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, from Workington to Cockermouth, &c.

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ART. XX.—*Earthworks in Cumberland.* By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Read at Egremont, August 30th, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to bring under the notice of this Society various earthworks, which have thus far escaped the record which they deserve. To some of them my attention was first called by Mr. Robinson, of Maryport, who used the spade with valuable results on many of the sites.

AUGHERTREE FELL, *Prehistoric period.*

The Ordnance Map marks three circular camps on Aughertree Fell, near Ireby, in central Cumberland. Circular enclosures are not uncommon in the north. Besides the large one at Mayborough near Penrith, there is one near Kirkby Stephen; another near Hayton, Carlisle; one called Tower Tye in Naworth Park; instances also exist at Triermain, at Haltwhistle, at Walwick Chesters, in Yorkshire, in Wales, &c., at Howbury Camp in Bedfordshire. Their use has, locally, been much disputed, some authorities being of opinion that they are pre-historic, and have protected settlements of neolithic men; others that they are of later date, and are mere cattle kraals. Some may be the one; some the other. But Mr. Robinson seems to have proved the Aughertree Fell circles to be prehistoric, for in a tumulus near he has found no less than twelve urns of the usual British type, which as yet are not dry enough to be fully examined, or their contents (calcined fragments of bone) diagnosed.

The three Aughertree circles are not on the top of a hill, but on the slope of one. Each is about 85 yards in diameter, and is surrounded by a ditch, which must once have been six feet deep, the earth from it forming a rampart within

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CAMP ON SO

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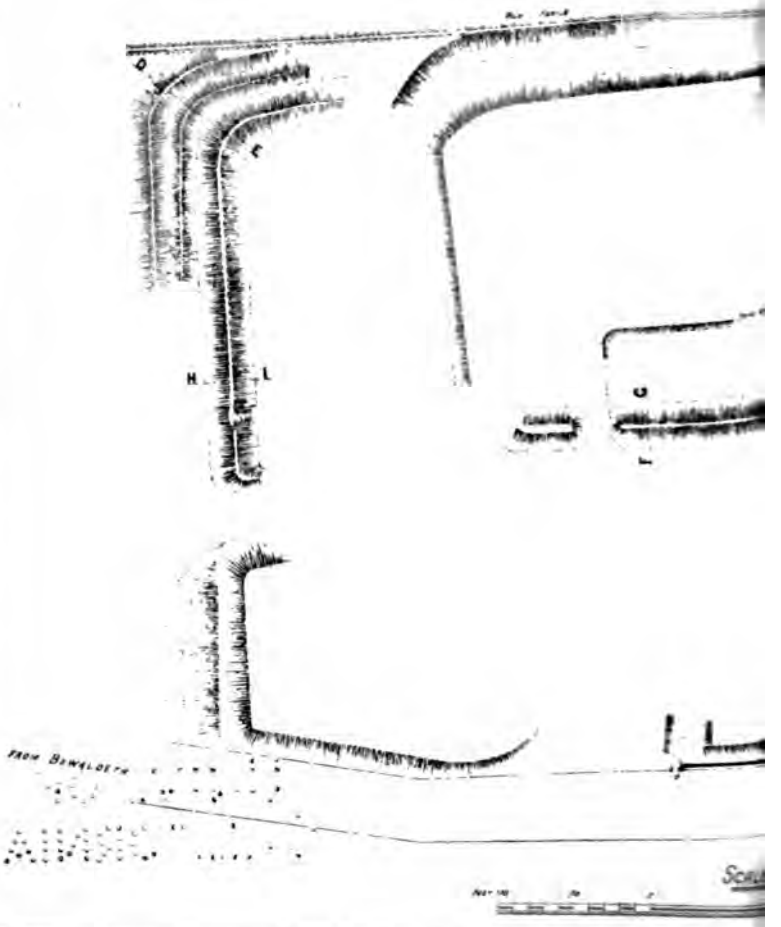

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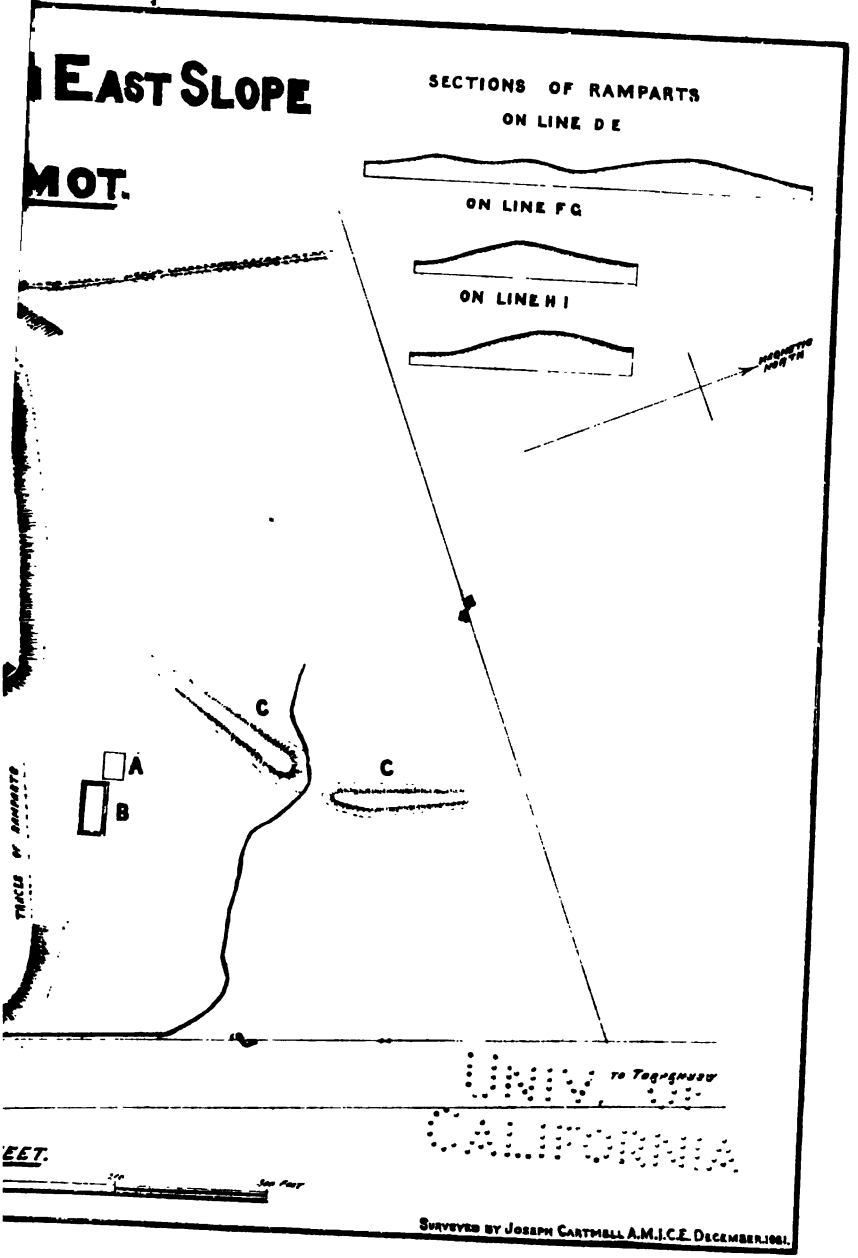

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within the ditch. Such ditch and rampart is no mere fence of a cattle kraal against beasts; it was destined to keep out man, and when palisaded must have been a stiff nut for a foe to crack. Each circle has but one entrance; one, however, seems to have a supplementary enclosure at one side of it, and this circle is divided into compartments by radiating turf walls, similar to the stone ones, at Hugill, near Ings.* The entrance to one circle is rudely paved.

From the vicinity of the tumulus, we may conjecture its connection with the circles, and hence conclude them to be pre-historic. Other tumuli must have existed in the vicinity, but the external traces have perished under sub-aerial denudation.

The discovery of urns was made while the writer was attending the Bedford meeting of the Institute, and hence his information is not quite so full as he could wish. No stone or other implements, or flints were found, though carefully looked for. The urns will probably be exhibited when the Institute meet in Carlisle in 1882, and their contents will be examined by competent observers. They were arranged in a circle round the centre of the tumulus.

CAERMOT, *Roman period.*

The large Roman camp on the south-east slope of Caermot has been overlooked by the Ordnance Surveyors, though it is described by West (in his Guide to the Lakes), and is, probably, the "camp in the parish of Ireby," mentioned by Camden and by Blome. The credit of its rediscovery belongs to Mr. Jackson, F.S.A., and it has been described by him in the 2nd volume of the Transactions of this Society, where he points out that the Roman road from Old Carlisle to Keswick runs through the camp.

The following facts are the results of a careful survey

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* Ante p. 84.

made

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made by the writer. For the plan he is indebted to Mr. Joseph Cartmell, C.E. The camp is square, with rounded angles, about 160 yards by 140. It is defended by three ramparts of earth and two ditches, extremely well defined on all sides but the east, where the modern road to Bewaldeth has encroached upon them. There is a gate in the centre of each side, and the Roman road to Keswick runs through the north and south gates. Apparently this road went to Keswick by the east side of Bassenthwaite Lake; it is to be wished some local antiquary would trace it. The spade and pricker did not reveal the presence of stone in the ramparts beyond fragments, and the paucity of remains found indicate that the camp was not long occupied—probably merely while the road was being made. The garrison was then reduced from a cohort to a century, and a new camp was formed in the north-west angle of the old one. For two sides of the new camp, the triple ramparts of the old camp served; on the east side a ditch and rampart was made immediately west of the road which bisected the old camp. On the south of the new camp, a ditch and rampart was also made, on the site of the road, through the new camp, joining the east and west gates. The west ditches of the old camp were continued and turned through the old west gate, one being continued as the ditch just mentioned; the external one being stopped immediately after rounding the angle. The engineers seem to have thought it unnecessary to defend the new camp with the triple ramparts and double ditches of the old, and so to have contemplated a mere temporary occupation. Such seems to me to have been the duration of occupation of both camps—within whose area the foundations of buildings have not yet been found. But immediately outside of the north gate of the large camp Mr. Robinson bared the foundations of two small rectangular chambers, A and B on the plan, the lower courses of masonry being in, but they do not present any very distinctive Roman character. The

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Camp on Northern Peak of Caermot.

Scale of Feet.

Surveyed by Joseph Caethell, A.M.I.C.E. December 1861.

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The buildings, be they Roman or not, have been roofed with lead, and have been destroyed by fire. Mr. Robinson took out over three stones of lead that had run into the soil, and more yet remains. Quantities of iron nails, in a decomposed condition, were also found, and much charcoal.

At B and C the soil has been disturbed: on being dug into it was found to be full of half-made or decayed fragments of brick, probably the debris of brickmaking.

By the kindness of Mr. Cartmell I also give a plan of the smaller camp on the summit of the northern peak of Caermot. It was, as Mr. Jackson suggests, the *mons exploratorius* of the larger camp.

SNITTLEGARTH, *Roman period?*

A "camp" is marked on the Ordnance Map near Snittlegarth: it is visible from the Caermot large camp, and is distant about a mile to the east. It is a most singular place. On a plateau on a hill, well sheltered on three sides by rising ground, and with a lovely view towards the south, a rectangular piece of ground, eighty-eight feet by thirty-one feet, has been isolated by a trench with regular scarp and counter-scarp. This trench is twelve feet broad at bottom, twenty-three feet at top, and the scarp and counter-scarp each nine feet, while the depth is five feet. The work is as fresh as if done yesterday. The profile is certainly Roman, but the spade revealed no pottery, and there is no trace of any entrance.

THISTLEBOTTOM.

A mile or so from Aughertree Fell, at Thistlebottom, exists a small square Roman camp, which has not yet been examined. A larger one is near Overwater. The position of these two in, and their connection with, the general Roman system of grasp on Cumberland, remains to be worked out; the connecting roads must be explored. The Romans would be well acquainted with the mineral wealth of

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of Caldbeck, and would secure the approaches to that district, as well as to the Keswick mines.

All the earthworks dealt with in this paper have up to now been in the central district of Cumberland. We shift the venue to the eastern portion of the county, and the time to another period.

DENTON HALL, *English period.*

This site seems to be that of an English homestead. A large four-sided area (or the "base court"), about eighty-five yards on its longest side, is enclosed by a very broad ditch, about 8½ yards wide—outside of which on the S. and E. sides is a low rampart with small ditch beyond. To the north there is no rampart, and the ground rises a little outside the enclosure. Adjoining the west side is a smaller enclosure in which is a mound, and some farm buildings. Within these is concealed the lower story of a pele tower, which is now the dairy. Its walls on the ground level are about eight feet thick, tapering to six feet at the first floor level; its internal dimensions are nineteen feet by fifteen feet.

At OVER DENTON CHURCH, near the Old Vicarage, is a place marked "camp" on the Ordnance Map, a small square enclosure, but by it there is a much destroyed mound in a circular or oval ditch, about fourteen yards in diameter. There would be an English homestead, and the square enclosure is its base court. The reputed Saxon village at the High Mains, west of Over Denton Church, is probably another such place. Moated mounds also exist, or have done so, at Irthington and Bleatarn. All these places lie along the Roman wall, and by its roads the English invaders came from the eastern coast.

DOWN HALL, AIKTON.

We seem to have here another "Englishman's homestead." The site is a long narrow kidney-shaped hill, running

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running east and west. A square platform has been formed by cutting deep ditches across the eastern and smaller hill, and two more, one to its north and one to its south. The western ditch is now the deep hollow road that leads to the church: the farm buildings stand in the southern ditch, but the east and north ditches are fresh and deep. An outer baily has been included in a ditch, which to the north and east is very perfect, but is obliterated on the south and west. This ditch is eighteen yards broad at the bottom and twenty-four yards at the top, and has scarp and counter scarp of about three yards. A stream runs along it, and it is crossed by a modern causeway. The north side of the outer bailey is about two hundred paces in length.

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ART. XXI.—*On a Torque of late Celtic Type found in Carlisle.* By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Read at Kendal, July 7th, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to exhibit to the Society a bronze beaded Torque of late Celtic type, which was found recently in deepening a cellar on the west side of English Street, Carlisle. The finders hawked it about Carlisle, and it was purchased by Mr. Fisher, of Bank Street, to whose kindness I have been on several occasions indebted for its loan. It is an imitation of a row of coarse or large beads threaded upon a thick string, and tied round the neck.

"It will be remembered," writes Dr. Birch, "that the most primeval barrows occasionally contain rude beads of opaque glass with undulating lines, commonly called serpents' eggs, or else of a thick rough porcelain, sometimes reeded externally. When a transition took place to a higher degree of civilisation among the Celts, and the art of smelting metals became known, the stone weapons and ruder decorations of those races seem to have been replaced by metallic ornaments still preserving their original type. The most remarkable torc of this kind is that* belonging to Mr. Sedgewick, of Skipton, and found lying upon two upright stones under a horizontal stone at the side of the hills between Embsay and Barden."†

The Carlisle Torque exactly resembles the one mentioned by Dr. Birch, except that it has only ten beads, instead of twelve. It consists of ten disc-like beads, the part representing the string being slightly elastic, and capable of being detached; it is retained in position by two conical pins, which fit in corresponding sockets in the beaded portion. The beads vary in size; the diameter of the two middle

* Engraved in the Archæologia, vol. 31, p. 517; also Archæological Journal, vol. 3, p. 32.

† On the Torc of the Celts, Archæological Journal, vol. ii, p. 368, vol. iii, pp. 27, 32.

or

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or inner beads being about $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch; they decrease to the two outer ones, which are about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch. The chord of the beaded arc is just 4 inches. The other portion, which went behind the neck, represents a squared cord, set lozenge-ways to the neck; the two inner sides are smooth, and the two outer hatched. The diameter is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the weight 6 oz. 15 dwts. It is of very yellow coloured metal.

Mr. Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A., assigns this variety of torques (the beaded torques) to the late Celtic or early Iron age rather than to the Bronze Period.*

It may be more than a coincidence that the only inscription in Britain, in which the phrase *torquata* has been met with, was found also on the west side of English Street, about 200 feet to the south of where this Torque occurred. It is No. 498 in the "Lapidarium Septentrionale."

. . . . . LVCA
RAEF ALAE AVGVSTAE
PETRIANAE TORQ M C R
D D
. . . . . LUCA

præfectus alæ Augustæ
Petrianæ torquatæ milliariæ civium Romanorum dedicavit.

Dr. M'Caul (cited in the Lapidarium) says:—

"I rather think every man in this ala was entitled to wear a torque as a badge of honour, not improbably with some difference as to the metal."

Can this Carlisle Torque be a relic of the Ala Petriana?

* Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain, p. 381.

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EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

JULY 7th AND 8th, 1881.

IN accordance with the resolution of the Council, the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Kendal. The place of assembly was the King's Arms Hotel, and soon after half-past one, the members and their friends, to the number of seventy or upwards, were comfortably accommodated in carriages, and on their road to Sizergh Castle. On their arrival the party alighted, and in the absence of Mr. Strickland, the owner, who was unfortunately unable to attend, they were courteously received by the Rev. James Gibson, of Kendal, who conducted them by the main entrance into the large hall, and thence through the various apartments in the Castle, pointing out in each room the different objects of interest. On entering the hall the first thing to attract attention was a very fine piece of tapestry work supposed to have been brought from France two centuries ago, and representing the history of Antony and Cleopatra. It extends round three sides of the apartment, in one end of which is a winding staircase to the upper stories of the building. The great tower in the south-east angle is sixty feet in height, and remains entire; it dates from the time of Henry VII., and contains a few of the original windows; the roof has recently been renewed, and is in substantial repair. In this part of the building is the state bedroom, still called Queen Katharine's room; it is panelled with richly carved black oak, and hung round with tapestry of great beauty; over the chimney-piece are the arms of Queen Elizabeth, carved in bold relief, with the date 1569. The visitors were afterwards conducted through the banquetting room, the inlaid room, and the library; the kitchen and cellars also received a hurried inspection, and were well worth the visit. The fine collection of old pictures and family portraits, which embellished every part of the house, attracted the attention of the visitors, but in the absence of a catalogue much of their interest was lost, and a hope was expressed that ere long the Society might be able to pay another visit to this venerable mansion, and that some of the members might prepare a descriptive and historical account of the

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the place, and of the family whose residence it has for so many centuries been. After ample time had been allowed for a thorough inspection, the visit was brought to a close, and a hearty vote of thanks was given to the owner for throwing open his interesting residence; and to the Rev. James Gibson for his kind attention in conducting the visitors over it.

Nether Levens was the next place on the programme, which after a short drive was soon reached, but by some misunderstanding a portion of the party was driven direct to Levens Hall, and so missed seeing the quaint and interesting old residence, now used as a farm-house. This old hall belongs to Mr. Wilson, of Dallam Tower, and was anciently their family seat; it is picturesquely situated close to the river Kent, which is here a tidal river, and affords a valuable fishery to the occupants of the manor farm. Most of the rooms are small, but the pointed doorways, the mullioned windows, and the massive thickness of the walls, surmounted as they are by capacious ivy-clad chimneys, give a venerable character to the place, and arrest the attention of the visitor. Extensive ruins of what would seem to have been a second wing are standing near the main building, and on the lawn in front of the house lies, in an apparently neglected condition, a monumental stone inscribed with a bishop's crozier, but of which no account could be had. Access was allowed to every part of the house, which the visitors freely availed themselves of, but there being no guide to explain or describe the different apartments, and no paper to be read, the stay was of short duration; the place and its surroundings, however, seemed to possess so much interest, and so little information could be gathered, that a hope was expressed that some member would collect material for a paper, and that the Society would take an early opportunity of revisiting the ancient mansion. After a vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Harrison, the occupiers, for so kindly allowing the members the privilege of an inspection, the carriages were again resumed, and in a few minutes the party reached Levens Hall. Here, in the absence of General Upton, the Society was welcomed by the steward, Mr. Milne, and facilities were given for inspecting every part of the building. Whilst the party were re-assembling in the great hall, tea was handed round, and in an adjoining room was an ample supply of "Morocco," which every one had an opportunity of tasting. In the absence of the Rev. Canon Weston, who had been expected to read a paper, Mr. Ferguson, who joined the party here, gave a brief description of the Hall, and read a short account of its history and owners from the earliest times down to the present; after which the coats of arms that were emblazoned on the ceiling and walls of the spacious hall were separately described by Mr. Jackson.

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Jackson. A magnificent specimen of tapestry, which served as a screen to separate the private chapel from the hall, was greatly admired, the brilliancy and freshness of the colours being remarkable. An hour had been allowed by the programme for a visit to the celebrated gardens, but the afternoon was so wet that very few of the party availed themselves of the opportunity. Before leaving, the hearty thanks of the visitors were given to General and Mrs. Upton for their hospitality and courtesy; and to Mr. Milne for the attention he had shown them. After having stayed two hours, carriages were once more called into requisition, and the party proceeded through the park on their way back to Kendal. It had been intended to visit Hincaster, where some vestiges of Roman occupation were to have been pointed out by Mr. G. F. Braithwaite, returning thence through Sedgwick and Natland, and inspecting by the way some artificial mounds at Raines, but, the afternoon still continuing very wet, the route was altered, and the carriages proceeded direct homeward. On the route a general halt was made at Force Bridge to allow the party to view the waterfall, which was rushing down with great force over the broken rocky bed of the river Kent. An opportunity was here taken to read a short paper by Mr. W. H. Wakefield, who expressed his regret that he could not be at the meeting, but sent an extract from Professor Sedgwick's "Memorials of Dent," bearing on the origin of the name Sedgwick; he also mentioned that he had permission to examine the mounds at Raines, but somehow it had never been done. Soon after the arrival at Kendal, the members dined together in the large Assembly Room at the King's Arms Hotel, the Mayor of the borough being present in his official capacity as guest of the Society. After dinner was over, the Secretary mentioned that he had received a letter from the Rev. Canon Simpson, regretting that on account of illness he was unable to be present. Mr. Alderman Braithwaite was thereupon called to the chair, and the business of the Annual Meeting was at once commenced by the Secretary reading over the minutes of the last meeting, which were subsequently confirmed.

The following new members were proposed and elected, viz.:—Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., 80, Eccleston Square, London; Mr. Thomas Iredale, Workington; Mr. William Lloyd Birkbeck, 2, Stone Buildings, Lincolns Inn Fields; Mr. Jonathan Otley Atkinson, Kendal; Mr. James Doherty, C.E., 29, Sir John Rogmers Quay, Dublin; Mr. John Jameson, C.E., Maryport; Mr. William Deighton, sharebroker, Workington; Mr. Author Frederick Borrodaile, A.M.I.C.E., Saltburn; Mr. Richard Henry Beardsley, Grange-over-Sands; Mrs. Hewertson, Meathop Hall, Grange-over-Sands; Mrs. T. Wilson, Castle

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Castle Lodge, Kendal; Mrs. Charles Wilkinson, Bank House, Kendal; Mrs. Collin, Croxteth House, Lower Harrogate; Major Thompson, Milton Hall, Brampton; Mr. C. Stephenson, Fourgables, Brampton; Dr. Wotherspoon, Brampton; Mr. Highfield, Blencogo, Carlisle.

Mr. Ferguson gave notice that he should propose at a future meeting the increase of the ladies' subscription to 10/6, the same sum as that paid by gentlemen members; the increase only to affect ladies subsequently elected.

The appointment of officers was moved by Dr. Taylor, and the list with a few alterations remains as before; the Earl of Lonsdale being president, the Lord Bishop of Carlisle heading the list of vice-presidents, to which is now added the name of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P. Mr. Frank Wilson was elected as auditor with Dr. Page, in place of the late Mr. I. W. Wilson.

The Chairman expressed his pleasure at seeing so large a gathering, and his regret at the unavoidable absence of Dr. Simpson, whose presence always infused a great deal of spirit into the meetings of the Society: they were all sensible of the loss sustained through his absence that day. Although the weather was not what they would have liked, yet, he believed, they had enjoyed a pleasant and interesting excursion, and they would agree with him that they were much indebted to the kindness of the gentlemen who had allowed them to visit Sizergh Castle and Levens Hall. The Society were to have gone to Hincaster, which was a very interesting place; and, as its name denoted, had been a Roman station. In a field near that place had been found a number of flints, which were not natural productions of this part of the country; they must have been imported there, and there was some evidence that the site referred to was that of an ancient British camp. The subject might become one for investigation on a future occasion. In the programme it was said that a paper would be read by him (Mr. Braithwaite) on "Kendal Charities." Originally Mr. Moser had intended to submit something on that subject, but being too fully occupied to do so, he had asked Mr. Braithwaite to take his place; but when he came to look into the matter he did not at once see his way to treat it from an archæological point of view, and he preferred, therefore, to hold the subject back until he could so deal with it as to bring it appropriately under the cognizance of the Society.

Mr. Ferguson, F.S.A., proceeded to describe a "Torque of late Celtic type," found in Carlisle. This Torque (which was produced for inspection) had been exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries of London; an account of it is given in Art. XXI of this volume, p. 196.

Dr. Taylor read a valuable paper on a "Cup-marked stone found near Stainton, Penrith," which is printed in this volume, p. 110.

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A "witching stone" was exhibited by the Chairman, and Mr. Ferguson added some remarks on a stone axe which he found hung up in a stable, the notion being that it would keep the horses from getting the night-mare. The superstition was as old as the Romans, but it was curious to find it surviving to this day in Cumberland and Westmorland.

Mr. Rushforth read some extracts from churchwardens' accounts of Kendal Parish Church.

During the evening several objects of interest were exhibited, amongst which may be enumerated a quern, the upper and nether stones of which were quite perfect, found near Asby Grange, and lent by Mr. William Wakefield of Birklands.

The regalia and plate belonging to the Kendal Corporation, consisting of two silver maces, a sword in black velvet scabbard, and silver mounted; two seals, three silver tankards, and a snuffbox.

Two small silver chalices and pattens from Kendal Parish Church.

A flint arrow-head, exhibited by Mr. James Atkinson.

Stone celt found near Low Levens, exhibited by Mr. John Harrison.

Drawings of the ancient chapel of St. Anne, Grassgarth, by Mr. C. Wilkinson.

Plaster casts of letters on local church bells, by Mr. Godfrey.

Votes of thanks to the Chairman and others closed the proceedings.

After most of the party had separated, a paper, by Mr. John Fell, of Danesgill, was produced by Mr. Fletcher Rigge, of Wood Broughton, who exhibited some remains found in excavating ruined foundations in a meadow at the Park Farm, near Dalton-in-Furness. The paper is printed at p. 77.

Nine o'clock had been fixed by the programme for the commencement of the second day's excursion, and though the weather was anything but inviting, over fifty members were punctually in readiness, and, amidst a slight drizzling rain, started on their way to Skelsmergh Hall, a distance of three miles from Kendal. On their arrival they were received by the Rev. G. E. P. Reade, the Vicar of Skelsmergh, who read a brief account of the Hall and its owners, and said that the first mention of the place was in the 13th century, when one of the Barons of Kendal granted the manor to Robert de Leyborne, and and that after continuing in that family for 400 years, and passing through various vicissitudes, it came to be forfeited to the Crown in 1715, on account of John de Leybourne having espoused the cause of the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater. The Hall and demesne were afterwards sold to Mr. Crowle, and from him have descended to the present owner, Mr. Edward Hugh Wilson, of Dallam Tower. A chapel

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chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and a burial place at one time existed here, and so late as 1680, when Machel visited the place, part of the choir walls with its seats were still standing, and a stream from St. John's Well ran through the chapel from east to west. No trace of the chapel or its foundations now remains, and it would appear that soon after changing owners and coming into the hands of Mr. Crowle extensive repairs and alterations were made.

The only portion of the ancient hall now standing is that which to this day retains the traditionary name of the tower, together with a small portion of the present house adjacent to it. The other parts have been demolished, and the materials employed to adapt the structure to the requirements of a farm-house, the old stone mullions being re-used. Some of the old oak wainscoting also remains, having been used to form partition walls for the bedrooms. During some alterations a few years ago, a lintel bearing the date 1629 was found built into an inner chimney, and pieces of wrought stone have from time to time been dug up in the garden. A stone hammer was unearthed by the plough some time since in a field on the estate.

The party then visited the Hall, which Mrs. Morton, the tenant, had kindly thrown open. After a vote of thanks to Mrs. Morton, and to the Rev. G. E. P. Reade for his paper, the company were reminded by the sound of the bugle that it was time to depart, and taking their seats in the carriages were soon on their way to the half-ruin and half-residence of Burneside Hall, once the seat of the ancient family of Burneshead, and subsequently for two centuries in the hands of the Bellinghams. Here Mr. Jackson F.S.A., read a paper that had been prepared by Canon Weston, describing the building and giving an historical account of its owners, and afterwards the visitors were allowed full liberty to inspect both interior and exterior. The paper is printed at p. 94.

After this fine old hall had been carefully examined, the carriages were again brought into use. The route was over Burneside Bridge, and past the newly restored Church of St. Oswald, by way of Cowan Head and on through Staveley, where the tower of old St. James' Church, in the middle of a neglected burial ground, attracted attention for a passing moment; leaving Staveley, and proceeding on by way of Ings, the carriages were soon at their halting place at High House, Hugill, said to have been at one time the residence of Richard Braithwaite, the author of Drunken Barnaby's Journal, and now the property of Mr. J. J. Addison, Kendal. The house is a good specimen of the old-fashioned yeoman's residence; it stands snugly sheltered amongst a clump of fine old trees, and is built in a most substantial

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substantial style, surmounted by a capacious round chimney, similar to those of the old Troutbeck houses not far distant. Some of the walls are nine feet thick, and the beams, staircase, and floors are all of dark polished oak. The parlour has originally been lighted by a three-light stone-mullioned window of ample dimensions; the stone mullions have, however, long been removed, and a modern window is now inserted. In this is preserved some excellent pieces of old stained glass, which form the subject of a paper by Mr. J. Holme Nicholson, printed at p. 106. Outside, on the lawn at the front of the house, Mr. Charles Wilkinson read a paper on the supposed Chapel of St. Anne, Grassgarth, which the party intended to have visited, but as the road lay across the fields, the long damp grass rendered the path unfit to pass over. Before leaving, Mr. Ferguson on behalf of the Society thanked Mr. Addison for the kind reception they had received, both on that day and on previous occasions when members of the Society had visited High House; and a move was made on foot to the ancient British settlement which was the object of so long a drive, and of which an account is in this volume.

On the return to Kendal, Hollin Hall was visited, and also St. Catherine's Church, Crook. This was the last place on the programme, The church stands alone on an open hill side, and is approached by paths across two or three fields. The churchyard is enclosed by a stone wall, in which is one of the so-called "styles," or narrow apertures, common in the Lake counties. The edifice consists of a nave and tower, there being no structural chancel. There are now two doors in the south wall, and traces remain of a western door in the tower. The space which would have been the tower porch is now used for storing coal and other things. At one period a portion of the church at the west end was partitioned off, and in the chamber thus formed, the village school was conducted, but it need hardly be said that a convenient modern schoolhouse now exists in the village. This partitioned-off part of the church is now the only vestry; but it is to be regretted that greater effort is not made to keep it decently clean and orderly. In the body of the church are traces of a rood-screen, or as some think, of a small chapel. There is an open-timbered roof of a very rude description, the beams and other woodwork being only roughly hewn and covered over with whitewash. The benches are of oak, very narrow, and have only a back rail let into the wall at one end, and supported on uprights at the other. The clerk's pew, the reading desk, and the pulpit (surmounted by a sounding board) is a typical "three-decker." Inside one of the two south doors is an ancient "stoop" or basin for "holy

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"holy water." On the plaster of the walls have been painted a number of texts of Scripture and the "king's arms"; and the artist who did this work records, in similar style, that "The king's arms (George III.) and sentences were lettered anew by John Bateman, gent., *formerly a native of this place*, 1794." The first entry in the parish book is dated 1673, and refers to the appointment of parish officers; another entry refers to the price paid for the use of horses "requisitioned" for the carriage of baggage for troops on the march. In consequence of the hilly nature of the locality the Government allowance of twopence per mile was made up by the township to sixpence. Within the present register is the entry—"The registry book belonging to Crook Chapel, bought at the expence of the chapelry, by Robert Birkett, then chapel-warden, A.D. 1778." An inspection of the building showed that its supposed pre-Reformation character was not well founded. Mr. C. J. Ferguson F.S.A. gave it as his opinion that the earliest of the remains would not carry the building back beyond the year 1620; parts of the pulpit and reading-desk pointed to about the same date; the pulpit itself indicating a still later restoration. The oldest traces were found in the woodwork of the rood-screen (or chapel, as it may have been) and the "stoop" for holy water; but little trace was visible of a much earlier date than that mentioned. It was possible that what now existed was built on a much earlier foundation, as the church at Crook is mentioned in the will of Christofer Philipson, dated 1560. A closer inspection may yield distinct traces of that older foundation.

From Crook the party returned direct to Kendal, which was reached about five o'clock, and the meeting came to an end.

August 30th and 31st, 1881.

A two days' excursion of members of the Society was held in West Cumberland on Tuesday and Wednesday, August 30th and 31st. The party met at Egremont on Tuesday afternoon. The route was by way of Calder Abbey, Gosforth, Seascale Hall, &c., back again to Egremont. At the head of Yeorton Brow, a halt of a minute or two was made, and Mr. Jackson pointed out a field on the right-hand side as having been the site of Caernarvon Castle, described as "the original seat of and still a possession of the family of Le Fleming." Nothing in the way of ruins, however, are to be seen. At Calder Abbey the party alighted, while the carriages drove back to Calderbridge, and a short paper descriptive of the Abbey was read by the Rev. Canon Knowles, and copies of a plan distributed. The ruins were then inspected, and Mr. Jackson and Canon Knowles made some remarks

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remarks upon three mutilated effigies which lie against one of the walls; while Mr. Ferguson F.S.A., directed attention to what is styled a cresset stone—a square block of red sandstone, having 16 circular holes. These stones, several of which have been recently found, had long puzzled antiquaries; and the Rev. T. Lees of Wreay (a member of this Society) has the credit of discovering their use.* It was the business of the cook in the monastery, it appears, to keep these holes filled with tallow or fat, into which a rush was set; and thus fitted up, the cresset stone was used to illuminate the dormitory. A telegram from the Rev. Canon Simpson, was read; and in it the rev. gentleman expressed his regret that he was unable to attend, and a hope that the party would enjoy fine weather.† A walk along the romantic path by the Calder brought the party to St. Bridget's, Calderbridge, the attraction there being a curious stone slab, which has been already described in these Transactions,‡ which is either a portable altar, or the seal of an altar. The slab, on which five crosses are sculptured, was found at Calder Abbey, and the vicar of St. Bridget's, the Rev. A. G. Loftie, has had it secured in a frame in a corner of the chancel. The carriages were again put in requisition, and the party drove on to Gosforth Church. Here the famous cross in the churchyard was inspected, and remarks as to its age and the probable meaning of the well-nigh undecipherable figures carved upon it were made by Mr. Jackson, Mr. Ferguson, Canon Knowles, the Rev. W. S. Calverley, and Dr. Parker, of Gosforth. Canon Knowles thought the cross was of twelfth century work, while Dr. Parker considered it much earlier, and narrated what local tradition said on the subject. This was to the effect that the cross had been erected by Danes who settled at Gosforth, and were converted to Christianity. Mr. Calverley thought that some of the figures on the stone indicated the binding to a rock with chains of Loki, the Scandinavian Beelzebub; and Canon Knowles agreed with Mr. Calverley that the carving was of a half secular and half religious character. The party next visited the church, and the Rev. Mr. Wordsworth, the rector, exhibited the old communion plate, some of it of pewter, and a black-letter copy of the Book of Homilies, folio, 1633. After some little delay, the carriages started again for Seascale Hall, the members gathering in a field adjoining the hall. Mr. Jack-

* Transactions, vol. iii, p. 194.

† Since the Society's visit, Dr. Parker, of Gosforth, and the Rev. A. G. Loftie have been engaged removing the soil to the depth of some feet from the west doorways and pillars, and have been rewarded by many interesting discoveries, which will well repay a visit. They have also superintended the repair of the Chapter House roof, which was in a dangerous state.

‡ Transactions, vol. iii, p. 190.

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son pointed out that the field was surrounded on three sides by water, and was altogether exceedingly well adapted for a fortification; and as it must have been close to the Roman way to the various camps along the coast, he thought it not unlikely that it might have been the site of a camp. To test this supposition, Mr. Joseph Robinson, of Maryport, a member of the Council, had visited the field an hour or two before the party reached it, and with the permission of Mr. Walker, he had made a series of excavations on a small scale in various parts of the field; but his labours had met with no reward, no stonework being discovered. Mr. E. T. Tyson, Maryport, here read his paper on "The Senhouses, Stewards of Holme." According to the programme, the old church of St. Bridget should next have been visited, for the inspection of its two famous crosses. Mr. Jackson and a limited party found their way there; but the driver of the third conveyance missed his road in Beckermet, and taking the wrong turn, ran the occupants back to Egremont, the rest of the carriages obediently following in his wake. The drivers had each received orders from Mr. Jackson to follow his lead, and to keep the same order in the line of conveyances; this departure from the instructions caused some little annoyance, as several of the members were anxious to see the crosses. The following note has been kindly supplied by the Rev. A. G. Loftie, the vicar:—

In anticipation of the visit of the Archæological Society to my old church and churchyard of St. Bridget, I had the well-known crosses carefully opened up, the sods, soil, and stones being removed so as to shew their bases to their foundations, ten curious cresset-like holes 2½ inches broad and 3½ deep could be traced upon the top of the socket-stone of the south cross, and also hollow marks repeated at each corner, were observed, though some of them were nearly obliterated. These marks have not been alluded to in any other description of the crosses that I have seen. Also, within the chancel of the interesting old church I had lifted up for inspection a large stone pavement flag within the Communion rails. Some time since I had observed the traces of *four* of the five crosses to be found upon the top of an altar, so supposing that the stone might have formed part of the pre-Reformation Altar, I removed the other flags, &c., and, as I expected, found that a moulding ran along one side of the two ends, though some of it had been cut away to fit it into its place in the floor. I have no doubt my conjecture was correct.

I have since placed this slab of stone (which measures 5 feet 6½ inches by 34½ inches, and is 4 inches thick) upon the Chancel pavement underneath the Holy Table, to which it forms a suitable platform.

A capital dinner, served up towards eight o'clock by the host of the Globe, Mr. W. J. Blythe, put everybody in good humour.

After dinner, Mr. Ferguson F.S.A. took the chair, and the hon. secretary (Mr. Wilson) having read the minutes of a previous meeting, they were confirmed; and on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Jackson,

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Jackson, a resolution was carried to advance the annual subscriptions of ladies who should afterwards join the Society, from 5/- to 10/6. The following new members were admitted:—Mr. J. S. Hellon, Whitehaven; Rev. C. Whitaker, Kendal; Rev. H. Bell, Muncaster; Dr. Calderwood, Egremont; Mr. T. L. Banks, Whitehaven; Mrs. Moore, Whitehall; Mr. C. J. Valentine, Workington; Mr. J. R. Musgrave, Richmond Hill, Whitehaven; Mr. J. H. Donald, Hutton House, Penrith; Mr. T. Howson, Whitehaven; Mr. J. Hayton, Cockermouth; Rev. H. S. Callender, Brathay, Ambleside; Mr. H. Railton, Snittlegarth; Rev. J. Greenwood, Uldale; Mr. H. Moore, Ullcoats, Egremont; Mr. P. Davidson, Maryport; Mr. J. M'Gowan, Whitehaven; Mr. J. Postlethwaite, Fair View, Eskett; Rev. T. S. Taylor-Taswell, St. Bees; and Rev. W. S. Wilkinson, Whitehaven. Mr. J. Smith and Mr. J. Towerson, Egremont, were subsequently admitted members at Ravenglass.

The Rev. W. S. Calverley read a paper entitled, "Illustrations of Teutonic Mythology from early Christian Monuments in Brigham and Dearham Parishes." The paper was illustrated by diagrams. Mr. Jackson followed with a paper, "The Mesne Manor of Thornflat, and its owner, 1656-9," and papers on the "Church Plate of the Deanery of Wigton" by Miss Goodwin; "of Gosforth" by Mr. Ferguson; and "of Maryport" by the Rev. H. Whitehead concluded the day's work.

On the second day, after breakfast, Mr. Ferguson laid before the Society some drawings of stones, &c., at Millom Church, and read a paper by Mr. G. T. Clark, F.S.A., on "The Mediæval Defences of the English Border." Mr. T. L. Banks read a paper on "Egremont Church," which as well as the Castle was visited. Accounts of the Castle by Canon Knowles and Mr. Jackson appear in this volume.

The party then went by rail to the Roman remains known as Walls Castle, near Ravenglass, where by the kindness of the owner, Mr. Aaron Brown, of Liverpool and Walls, excavations had been made, which are recorded in this volume. The party next walked to the hotel at Ravenglass, where lunch was served, and afterwards proceeded to Muncaster Castle, which his Lordship had invited them to visit. They were shown over the principal apartments, including the room traditionally said to have been used by the unfortunate Lancastrian King Henry VI., when in hiding at the Castle. The well-known painting of Tom Skelton, the Fool of Muncaster (who is said to have flourished during the Civil Wars), was on view; and Mr. Ross exhibited the famous "Luck of Muncaster." It is carefully preserved in wool in a box, and the greatest care was shown in handling and exhibiting it. His Lordship had invited the

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the members to luncheon, but the invitation was, in consequence of an imperative and salutary rule, declined. Tea was, however, served to the party in the library. The grounds were thrown open, and the magnificent prospects of fell and dale, wood and water, were much enjoyed by the party, most of whom were visiting Muncaster for the first time. At Ravenglass Station the fast train passing about six o'clock was stopped to take up the party. Ere it arrived, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the local committee who had arranged the excursion (Mr. Jackson, Canon Knowles, and Mr. Ferguson), and these gentlemen severally acknowledged the compliment.

We are endebted to Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., for the loan of the illustrations here given, and we have also ventured to take from a paper by him in the *Art Journal* of December, 1879, the following account:—

THE "LUCK OF MUNCASTER."

"This remarkably curious, and I believe unique, glass bowl is five inches and five-eighths in diameter at the top, and two and a quarter inches in height. It is formed of glass of a greenish hue, with simple ornamentation in gold and enamel. The two upper rows of dots, forming, as it were, a series of trefoils, as shown in the engraving, are of a pale dull lilac-coloured enamel on the glass itself; the next band is a row of white enamel spots upon a gold ground, with a delicate gold line above and below; next a band composed of small gold squares; and the next the same as the first, but reversed, while the lower part is roughly ornamented on the glass itself, and has almost a bronzed appearance.

The

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The tradition is that Henry VI., after either the battle of Hexham or of Towton was found wandering on Muncaster Fell, a fugitive, by some shepherds, who conducted him to Muncaster Castle, where he was concealed for some days. On leaving, the monarch is said

KING HENRY VI. PRESENTING THE "LUCK OF MUNCASTER."

to have given this precious relic into the hands of Sir John Penning ton, saying to him, "Your family shall prosper so long as they preserve this glass unbroken." By the kindness of Mr. Jewitt we are enabled to give a sketch of a small painting on panel, still preserved in Muncaster Castle, which represents Henry VI. in regal costume holding the "Luck" in his left hand.

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ART. XXII.—*Illustrations of Tuetonic Mythology from early Christian Monuments at Brigham and Dearham.* By the REV. W. S. CALVERLEY.

Read at Egremont, August 30th, 1881.

AT the request of the Society, I lay before you drawings and rubbings of the designs sculptured on the top, and on three of the sides of a cross socket at Brigham Church, and also of the head of a cross now placed over the vicarage porch at Brigham.

I desire, moreover, to refer you to Nos. 1 and 2 in the plate of "Antient Crosses at Dearham Church," placed before Art. XVIII., part I, vol. V, of your *Transactions*, being the last volume, and to the drawing of the Dearham Font, figure 1, opposite page CXCIV, in Lyson's Mag. Brit. vol. iv, Cumberland.

The Brigham cross socket is a peculiarly interesting fragment, and associated with other early monuments, may be of value in the reading of one page of our history. The stone is of light-coloured sandstone, and measures two feet ten inches by two feet six inches, with a thickness of one foot. It is cracked through the middle longitudinally.

The top of the socket (II) has a cable moulding running round it, similar to the one round the pedestal of the Dearham Font.

The place (a) for the reception of the cross stem has a raised edge, and measures sixteen inches by eight inches, perforating the stone. Around it coils the serpent, with wolfish mouth (b) and teeth and swollen throat, the tail of whom, after many windings and wanderings, finds refuge only in its own mouth. On the shortest of the three sculptured sides of the socket (III) is a strange figure, composed of a wide distended throat, (c) over whose cavernous

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cavernous depths fang-like limbs appear to close with ominous strength, and the twisted tail of the serpent, which is partially restrained by an eight-shaped knot or bond. (f)

On another side (IV) the head of a horse (h) takes the place of the wolfish head and wide throat of the two figures which I have already noticed, and the serpent-like intertwinings seem to consist of two bodies issuing from the neck of the horse, (l) and becoming incorporated each with the other. These are also bound by a knot. (d)

I have endeavoured to distinguish the bonds from the bodies themselves by means of lighter shading. The stone is damaged about the neck of the horse, but the representation of the intertwinings is, I believe, faithful.

On the other side of the socket (V), part of which has crumbled away, there still remains the head of a wolf, nose resting on tail, which is curled round (e), not rampant, shewing teeth and claws, and having tail erect, as on the Dearham Font, yet certainly not dead, though calm, and under subjection. All the designs on this socket shew vigour, and at the same time restraint.

The cross head (now over the vicarage porch) is of red sandstone, and measures one foot nine inches across the arms, and one foot five inches from the top to the fracture at the waist of the figure. It is sculptured on both sides and at the ends. The front (I) shews the head and body of a man having long wavy hair, and grasping with his right hand a serpent, whose body is coiled around his waist, and twisted into the usual knot in the opposite arm of the cross; above this knot the left hand of the figure is raised with open palm in an attitude of victory.

On the reverse seven small bosses, within a circle, a head and two patterns of knot work.

On the ends of the arms knots.

Extracts from Grimm's Teutonic Mythology, Stallybrass, vol. I:—

P. 244.

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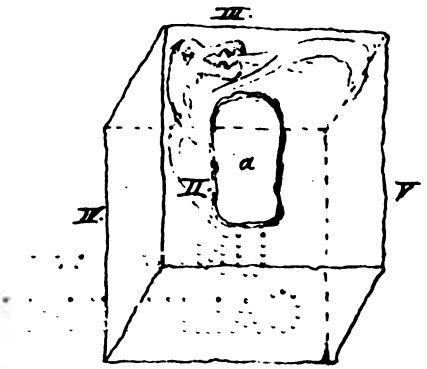
1882.

CROSS HEAD. BRIGHAM.



SOCKET.

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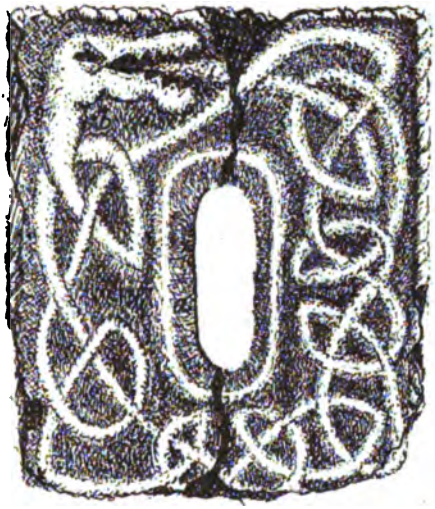
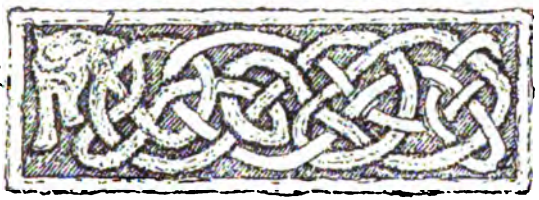


II.

1882.

III.



IV.

V.

CROSS SOCKET. BRIGHAM.

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P. 244. "Loki, in punishment of his misdeeds, is put in chains; but he is to be released again at the end of the world. One of his children, Fenrir, *i.e.*, himself in a second birth, pursues the moon in the shape of a wolf, and threatens to swallow her."

P. 312. "Hel is no other than Loki's daughter, and like him a dreadful divinity. Rân receives the souls that die by water, Hel those on land, and Freyja those that fall in battle.

The ON. Hel gen. Heljar shows itself in the other Teutonic tongues even less doubtfully than Frigg and Freyja; only, the personal notion has dropped away, and reduced itself to the local one of halja, hellia, hell, the nether world and place of punishment.

Originally, Hellia is not death nor any evil being, she neither kills nor torments; she takes the souls of the departed and holds them with inexorable grip. The idea of a place evolved itself; the converted heathen applied it to the Christian underworld, the abode of the damned; all Teutonic nations have done this, from the first baptized Goths down to the Northmen, because that local notion already existed under heathenism.

In the Edda, Hel is Loki's daughter by a giantess, she is sister to the wolf Fenrir, and to a monstrous snake (the serpent Jörmungander, which lies coiled around the world ash Yggdrasill.)

Her dwelling is deep down in the darkness of the ground, under a root of the Tree Yggdrasill, in Niflheim, the innermost part of which is therefore called Niflhel, there is her court (rann), there her halls. Her platter is named *hûngr*, her knife *Sultr*, synonymous terms to denote her insatiable greed. The dead go down to her, *fara til Heljar*, strictly those only that have died of sickness or old age, not those fallen in fight, who people Valhalla.

The unpitying nature of the Eddic Hel is expressly emphasized; what she once has, she never gives back. She is of wolfish nature and extraction; to the wolf on the other hand a *hellish throat* is attributed.

In

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In the Danish popular belief Hel is a three-legged horse, that goes round the country, a harbinger of plague and pestilence. Originally it was no other than the *steed* on which the goddess posted over land, picking up the dead that were her due.

A passage in Beowulf shows how the Anglo-Saxons retained perfectly the old meaning of the word. It says of the expiring Grendel, "the old heathen goddess took possession of him."

In Germany, too, the Mid. Ages still cherished the conception of a voracious, hungry, insatiable Hell. It sounds still more personal, when she has *gaping yawning jaws* ascribed to her, like the wolf; pictures in the MS. of Cædmon represent her *simply* by a wide open mouth (III.K.)

"The raging tyrant
he was like the Hell
who the chasm (steep descent)
be—yawneth with her mouth
from heaven down to earth.
And yet to her it cannot hap
that she ever become full;
She is the insatiable cavern,
that neither now nor ever said
'that is what I cannot (manage.)'"

NOTE.—There is such a representation in one of the windows of the Carlisle Cathedral. Also such representations were usual in the miracle plays of Mediæval days.

I leave this set of sculptured stones:—

No. 1, Art. XVIII., of your last *Transactions*, having little symbolism but that of the Holy Trinity:

No. 2 of the same Article, having upon its stem the great world ash Yggdrassil, over which shines the true sun God, which in the teaching of the missionaries was the Christ.

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, of this Article, being the Brigham cross socket now noticed for the first time, and having upon it a

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a full representation of the incarnations of Loki, Fenrir, the Midgard-Snake, Hel, and the horse, all under bonds. And the cross-head at Brigham, No. 1 of this Article, representing the victory over the powers of evil to tell their own story for the present.

I beg respectfully to call your attention to the note by Dr. George Stephens, of the University of Copenhagen, at the end of your last volume of *Transactions*, and to express a hope that careful examination and study of this subject may be found especially interesting to members of this Society, who live in a country abounding in strong testimonies to the untiring zeal and hardihood of faithful bands of Christian missionaries, whose glorious privilege it was to lift up the cross and proclaim a new sun, even in "*The twilight of the Gods*" of our northern heathendom.

NOTE.—I have hopes that the Gosforth cross, which we have seen to-day, will lend us something of interest on this subject, and I am pleased to hear from Dr. Parker, of Gosforth, his willingness to assist in making its story clearer by means of photographs, &c.

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ART. XXIII.—*An Account of some Excavations made at Walls Castle in* 1881. By W. JACKSON, F.S.A.

Read at that place, August 31*st*, 1881.

EARLY in the month of August, 1881, our editor and I determined to excavate at Walls Castle, in order to ascertain whether there existed any further proof, if, indeed, further proof were required, of its Roman origin; one or two minor essays had been made previously without any successful result; a deep hole had been dug just in front of the niche, and charcoal, bones, and pottery had been found, but the bones were supposed to be those of domestic animals that had been interred there at no distant period, and the pottery, though undoubtedly old, was in small fragments, and of no determinate character.

At first we were troubled with an excavator who took no interest in the work, but we were soon joined by Mr. Robinson, of Maryport, who secured the assistance of — Turner, who under his auspices had become a trained hand, and no further difficulty occurred in that respect. Mr. Aaron Brown, owner of this interesting property, gave us carte blanche (if only every old ruin belonged to so obliging an owner), and we set to work anew.

It had been ascertained by Canon Knowles and myself (and he unfortunately was unable to join us in our labours), that at any rate a part of the floor of room B was composed of a mass of hard material, the composition of which we determined to investigate thoroughly. It now became apparent that the upper part consisted of large fragments of Roman roofing, tiles bedded in lime with the turned up edges downwards, so as to leave a comparatively smooth surface on which the flooring, whatever that might have been, had been laid; the lime was placed on grout, which where

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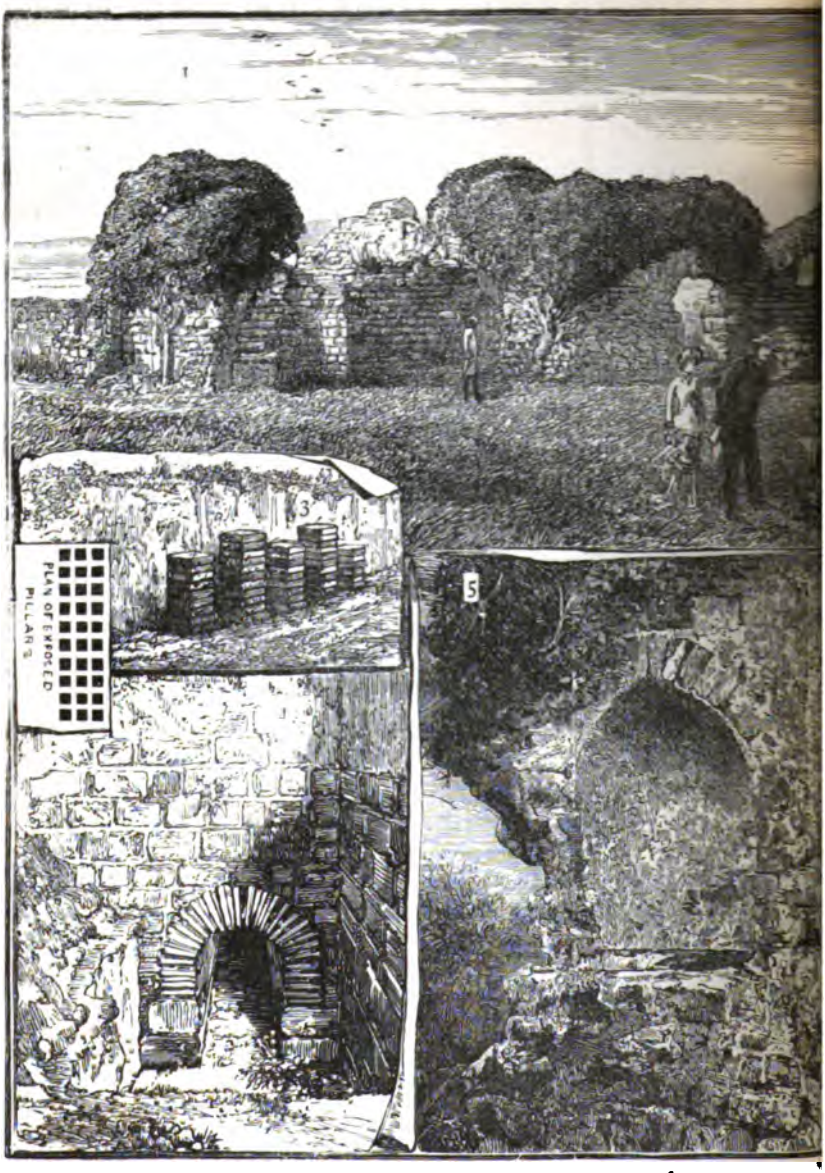

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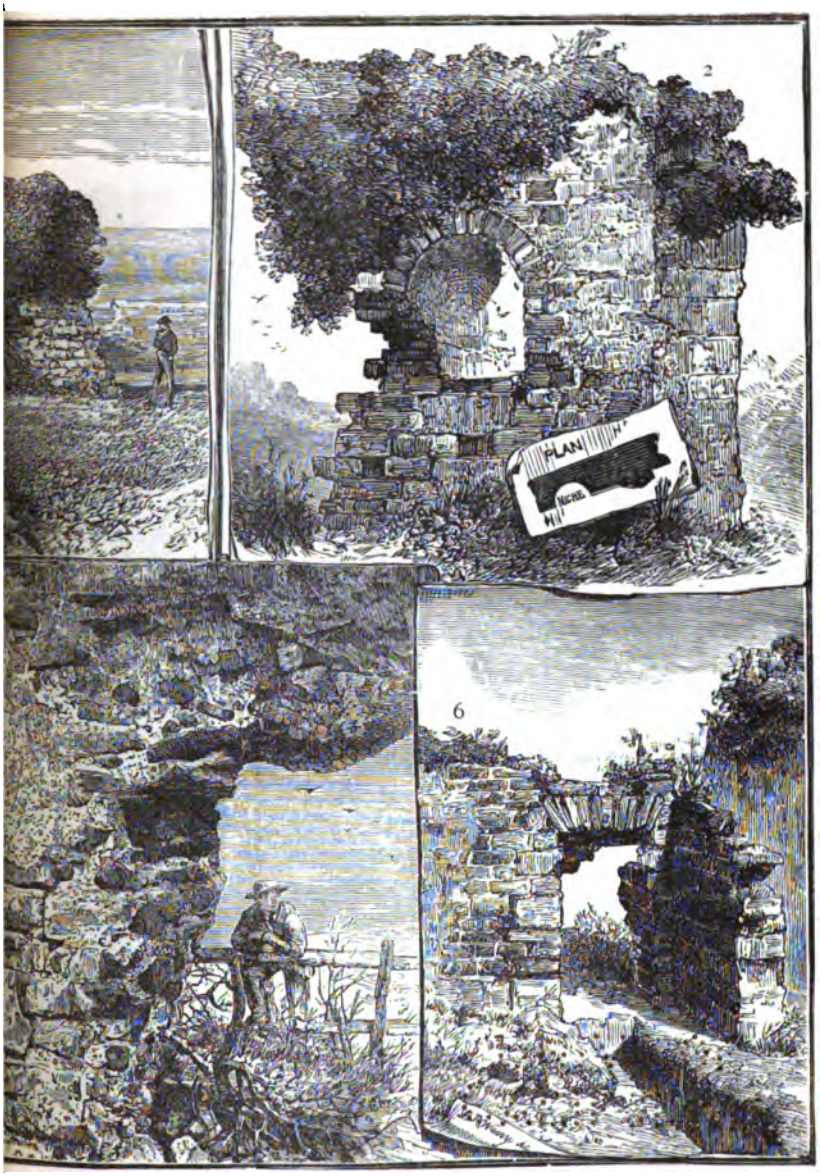

WALLS CASTLE.

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where least disturbed, rested on a rough flag. There was a channel of about four inches wide, running between this mass and the northern wall of the room as far as the doorway, which was choked with fragments of tiles of a very peculiar cylindrical form, but wider at one end than the other. We were unable to find a perfect one, but they appeared to have had an internal diameter at the wider end of about five inches, having a length of about a foot, and tapering towards the other extremity, where the breadth might be three inches. The narrower end of one might therefore be inserted in the wider end of the other, and so, with a slight slope, form a continuous piping, which where clay was abundant, would be less expensive than leaden tubing. It would have been very instructive to have seen them in their original position, but when it is stated that within living memory a large tree was cut down, which had grown to maturity in this room, it seems wonderful, not merely that the sub-structure should have preserved any traces of its original arrangement, but that any of the building should have survived. Our attention was next attracted to some tiles placed perpendicularly, or nearly so, in the east corner of the south wall of the same room, and about the level of the floor. Upon excavating here the results were very successful, for these tiles were found to be the voussoirs of an arch, the base stones of which rested on a flag forming the bottom of the opening: there were two stones on each side, rising to a height of about eighteen inches, above which the arch consisted of tiles to its crown, a further height of sixteen inches; the breadth of the opening was two feet nine inches, and lying immediately in front was a large boulder about two feet long, with a maximum breadth of fifteen inches. At the same level as the floor of the arch was an opening of about a foot square, piercing the east wall in the south corner, immediately above which the wall had been somewhat rudely hollowed out beneath the level of the floor subsequent to building. It

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It may be stated that here, and generally with regard to the walls wherever they were traced below the surface, the courses were continued downwards from eight to ten in number, and at a depth of about four feet rested, without any set off, on a brown tenacious clay, the same that crops out on the adjacent bank of the Esk, being a member of the upper boulder clay without that admixture of gravel which characterises generally the lower bed.

The next excavation of any importance was made along the northern wall of the so-called room F, and we were gratified to find, what we had always supposed to have once existed, a hypocaust, following the remains of which we came to a cross wall running at right angles southwards, and here we found ten pillars in a line, and further excavation uncovered two other parallel lines, making thirty pillars in all. These have been formed of from ten to twelve tiles, leaving a hollow space of about two feet nine inches deep; most of the pillars have two or more tiles at the base, of a foot to thirteen inches square, and two inches thick, whilst the upper tiles are about ten inches square and one and a half inch thick; these tiles are not unfrequently ruled across from corner to corner on the lower face. A fragment of one bore a most interesting impression; apparently the tile had been lifted from the ground when undergoing the drying process, and being in a somewhat yielding state it had bent slightly, whilst on the lower side the marks of the workman's fingers had become impressed, the lines on the cuticle being distinct and unmistakable. The tiles are very loosely jointed, like the courses of the building; the spaces between those forming the plinths, which rest on the native clay, are about eight and a half inches from east to west, but from eleven to thirteen inches from north to south; in one or two cases the spaces are rudely paved with pebbles. At the south-western end of the excavation some of the grouting remained apparently *in situ*, but without resting on any flagging; which might, however, have

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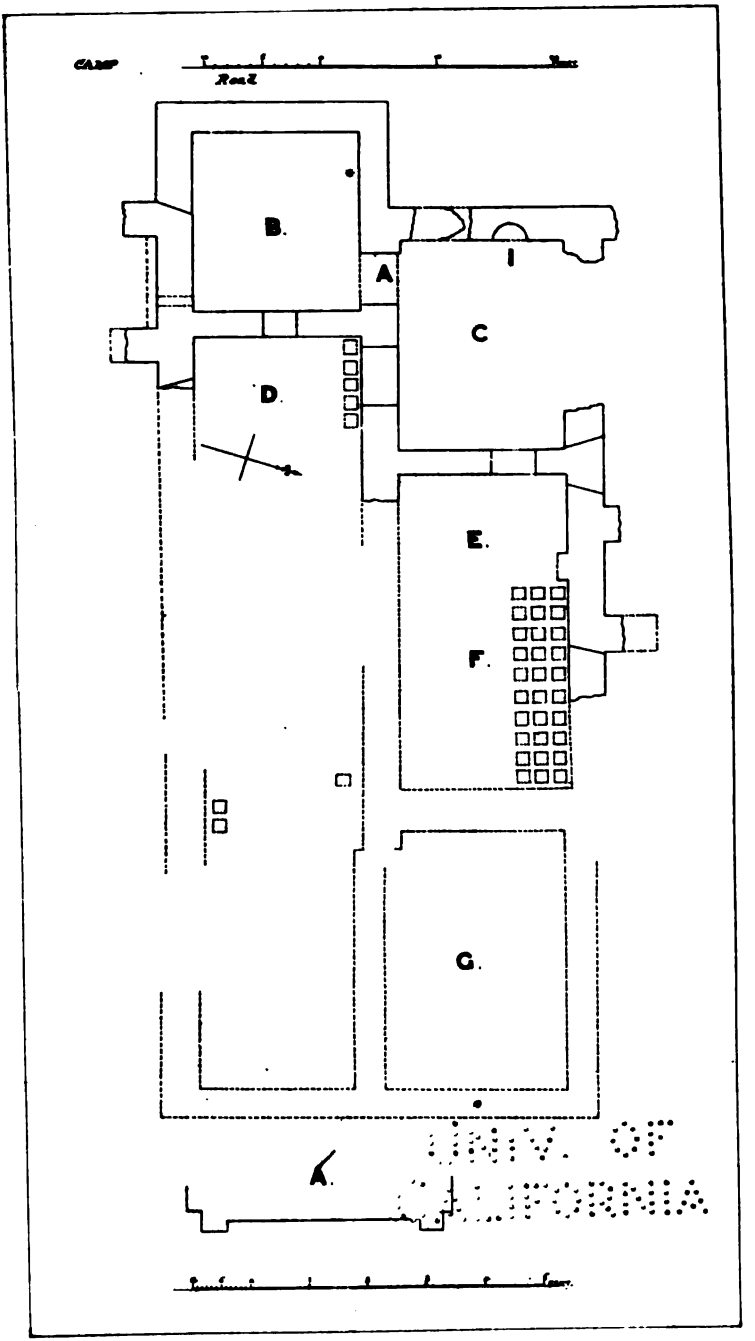

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have been removed, for the pillars were less perfect here than elsewhere.

Between the northern row of pillars and the wall of the room abundance of tiles occur, but they have shrunk into a mass so compact and clogged with soot that I was unable, even after much labour, to solve the mystery of their arrangement. These tiles were hard baked, and gave out when struck a metallic ring; they were about three-quarters of an inch in thickness, and ten and a half inches in length, but none were sufficiently perfect to enable me to ascertain their exact breadth; many of them have notches in one corner of two inches in depth and the same in length; my impression is that they were arranged so as to form a close flue. Numerous pieces of iron, much corroded and in many cases hollow at the core, occur here, suggesting that the tiles may have been fixed by fastenings of this material; tiles of similar character, with a round instead of an angular groove, and one with a piece of iron attached thus occurred not unfrequently.

Having proved the existence of a hypocaust, and not having much time or money for the purpose of excavating at our disposal, we resolved to confine ourselves for the present to ascertaining something more as to the size of the building, and to exposing the other end of the arch opening in room B. The walls were followed by trenching, and exposed, as indicated by dotted lines; wherever the excavations were extended internally, hypocaustal pillars, or remains of such, were discovered, and the soil at a depth of say three feet blackened with soot, and this latter condition was by no means confined to the interior.

At the south side of the threshold of the doorway between rooms C and D, a line of five pillars was found. The walling here was continuous under the threshold, which it was not at the doorway between B and C, but it may have been removed at some time in the latter case. In a doorway between rooms C and D, the stone threshold, which

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which has been broken, rested on very large tiles, one having a length of two feet ten inches; enough of the stone threshold remained on the west side to show a similar grooving to that in the doorway between rooms B and C. In the north-east corner of room F. there is a curious opening, apparently for a flue, passing through the wall of what I now call room G, and then through the wall into a space north of that, which would seem to indicate that the building was continued in that direction. Another opening, and a very peculiar one, passes through the south wall of this Room into a curious square space where some unusually large blocks of sandstone occur; the question suggested itself to me—Could this be the base of a chimney?

In trenching along the southern wall, a fragment or two of glass, and a single piece of molten lead were found, but in digging outside of room E, beneath where a window is marked on the plan, two sorts of glass were unearthed, at a depth of nearly four feet; both are a little opaque on one side, and whether that may be the cause of the peculiarity or not I cannot say, but it was observed that the opaque side was always downwards. The ground at this depth bore no marks of having been disturbed for a lengthened period. Still further to test this discovery, a pit was dug outside of the window in room B, and pieces of glass under similar circumstances were discovered. The one sort was an eighth of an inch thick of a greenish hue, and one piece had a rounded edge showing that it had been cast, the other was only a twelfth of an inch thick—no fragment was more than two inches in length. In any other place the glass was so similar to modern that it would not have attracted observation, but, having regard to all the circumstances, I am convinced that it was Roman, and we now know that glass windows were not uncommon among that people, and in this climate must have been much used. Our next object was to excavate at the outside of the south wall of room B, and the tile voussoirs of the

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the arch were speedily exposed, but so much wrenched out of their places by the ivy which has been permitted to grow with great luxuriance round the ruin, that the arch has been in a great measure destroyed. The whole material of the external arch is tile; a large one, forming the base on the eastern side, has an external face of nine inches, and an internal one towards the opening of eighteen inches, with a thickness of two inches. From the same side of the arch to the corner of the buttress is two and a half feet, and from the corner to the south face of the buttress, which on being exposed was found to be perfect, is two feet three inches. The external facing of the whole front from buttress to buttress projects eighteen inches from the wall, say from the level of the floor to the foundation, and is altogether formed of tile, so that at this point, where the arch pierces the wall, the total solid thickness is three feet of stone and 18 inches of tile, or four and a half feet. We concluded that this was the site of the furnace, and the tile facing is certainly calculated to resist extraordinary heat.

I am not aware that the importance of the system of disseminating heat in Roman structures has been sufficiently considered; judging from the blackened nature of the subsoil wherever turned up, inside or immediately outside of the building, the whole site must have been covered with hypocausts, and the holes piercing various walls show that the smoke and heat must have travelled over a considerable distance, and by tortuous ways. I have mentioned in my remarks on room B, a hollowing out of the wall above the square hole described; this may have been to move a damper to exclude smoke and heat from that and other chambers, or to pass down a brush to sweep out the flue, but what strikes me with great force is the powerful draught that must have been required to draw smoke and heat alternately through extensive hypocausts and narrow flues. Could this be done without a chimney? I am almost afraid even to suggest so homely a domestic appendage

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dage in connection with a Roman villa, but perhaps that may not be more repugnant to the feelings of an antiquary of the present day, than the idea of glass windows in such a structure would have been to his grandfather of last century, and I venture again to name that curious portion of the building to which I have before adverted. I have mentioned a large boulder as being placed just inside the prefurnium in exactly the same position as a similar one at Brading villa, pictured in the "Illustrated London News" of September 3rd of last year. Such an obstacle would prevent the influx of fuel into the passages, and at the same time rather assist the draught. I suppose that wood was the fuel used, pieces of charcoal being abundant, but not a trace of coal; indeed the distance from the mines would almost prevent its use, but it was commonly burnt at Moresby, the next known station northwards. Outside of the supposed rooms E and F, and in the space between the windows, excavations were made, but without any determinate result. The buttress nearest the hypocaust terminated in four faced courses, probably the upper ones had been removed; and indeed it is singular that so much masonry remains beneath the surface, because in that position the damp has materially weakened the mortar. Just outside the point named, and a foot or more beneath the surface, there was a considerable gathering of small boulders, or cobbles, certainly not an accidental gathering, but such as might have been intended for the rough foundation of a road.

Several holes were made in and near room C to ascertain whether the wall with the niche was continued northward, but though grout, tiles and pottery were abundant, nothing special was discovered. Small fragments of pottery were found everywhere; one sort of a reddish hue which might be Samian, and the other a smoked ware, but none with any pattern more ornate than a plain lozenge or fret. Fragments of vessels of a coarser clay, and a few pieces

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pieces of slate with nail-holes occur. No tesseræ, much less tesselated pavements, rewarded our exertions; it may be that the floors were merely flagged or made of plain tiles.

There is a singular hole in the wall at the supposed level of the floor between rooms C and E, it is partly based with tile in the interior, and facing room C is cut in two stones thus— . Nails occur in the west wall of room D, south of the door opening into room B, and also in the south wall of the same chamber, which are I think coeval with the building.

A perusal of Gell's "Pompeiana" has suggested to me the probability of this building having been the thermæ of the camp, or town as the settlement, no doubt, ultimately became. If it were so, the space marked B might contain the cistern, and be separated by a mere curtain, from the Tepidarium D, or the division walls between the supposed rooms D, E and F, might not be continued above the floor. I perceive the difficulty arising from the position of some of the doorways, especially the one marked A, but in dealing with a building altogether unique, and with a subject so obscure as Roman thermal arrangements, some vagueness, and even licence, in conjecture may be pardonable.

Two superficial excavations were made in the neighbouring camp, one exposing a portion of pavement formed of small cobbles, both with fragments of tiles. Another was made in a field about two hundred yards from the ruin, and tiles, fragments of coarse pottery, perhaps portions of amphoræ, and a minute piece of a glass vessel were found.

For the amended and extended plan I am mainly indebted to Canon Knowles. May I venture to express a hope that all visitors to this interesting ruin will be careful not to climb over or damage the hedges, and will apply at the house for permission, which Mr. Brown kindly gives, to inspect it.

PLAN.

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PLAN.

A is the doorway between rooms B and C, section of which is given at foot, and it is noteworthy that this, and the other door openings must have been considerably under five feet.

D, E, F, and G may or may not be separate rooms; they are all distinguished by traces of cross walls, which might not rise above the floor. The diagonal lines through the walls mark the sides of windows; in none of the five cases are both sides traceable.

The dotted lines through the south side of room B mark the flue; the tile facing of the prefurnium is indicated by another dotted line. In all other cases the dotted lines mark basements of walls exposed by the excavations.

The asterisk shows the approximate position in the wall of certain small limestone cobbles, which through exposure have become almost as porous as pumice stone, and which were originally thought to be grout.

The block from which the sheet of illustrations is taken was most kindly lent to the Society by the proprietors of "The Graphic."

No. 1. General view of the ruin from the east.
„ 2 & 5. Niche in western wall of Room D.
„ 3. Remains of some of the pillars of the hypocaust, as exposed in room F, with plan of the whole.
„ 4. Interior of prefurnium arch.
„ 6. Doorway A, between rooms B and C, but the arch is rather too much depressed.

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ART. XXIV.—*Inaugural Address of* THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CARLISLE, *to the joint meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute and the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, held at Carlisle.*

Given at that city, August 1st, 1882.

IN discharging the important duty which has been imposed upon me to-day there is one department which commends itself to me as being easy and simple, another which I feel to be full of difficulty.

The easy and simple part of my duty is that which consists in bidding the Royal Archæological Institute a hearty welcome to the old Border City. Many changes have taken place since the Institute visited Carlisle in the year 1859. The lapse of twenty-three years, though it may seem trifling to an archæologist, necessarily leaves its mark both upon persons and things. It is pleasant, however, to think that all is not changed; we have the same veteran President; several of our distinguished visitors to-day were distinguished visitors then; and now, as then, we have a Ferguson of antiquarian proclivities occupying the chair of chief magistrate, and prepared to maintain the hospitable character of "Merry Carlisle." It would not be possible to single out for distinct and individual welcome each guest whom we number amongst our distinguished gathering to-day; and therefore I will wish them one and all a joint and hearty welcome. I am sure, however, that I shall carry the feeling of every one with me when I express my deep regret at the absence of one expected guest in particular, the distinguished Minister of the United States of America. Nothing but overmastering necessity could have prevented Mr. Lowell from keeping an engagement,

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engagement, which I know that he was exceedingly sorry to forego. I wish that America could have been represented, and so worthily, at this meeting. America has not and cannot have the archæological atmosphere which belongs to England: but it is gratifying to feel that our American brethren and neighbours are ever willing to claim their share in the history of the old country, our common mother; and I have often thought that we Englishmen may learn a lesson from the zeal and industry with which these same American brethren make themselves acquainted with the archæology of the country, for which they have still an unmistakeable and undisguised feeling of filial affection.

The difficult part of my duty consists in being compelled to pose for the time as an archæologist. I must frankly say that to this noble title I have no sufficient claim. If this confession should seem to cut my presidential chair from under me, I must throw the responsibility upon those who placed me in it. Or if it be impossible for one who accepts an office to divest himself of responsibility, I must fall back upon a plea, which I shall endeavour by the general drift of my remarks to substantiate, namely, that it is possible for a man, who has no claim to be regarded as an expert, to have sufficient general knowledge of the meaning and value of archæology, and sufficient sympathy with, and respect for, those who devote their best energies to its study, to enable him without conspicuous disgrace to fill the honourable post which your courtesy has assigned to me to-day.

In truth, as it is impossible for an educated man to live in Italy without gaining a love of art, or to live in Switzerland or our own lake country without becoming somewhat enthusiastic about natural scenery, so it would seem to be next to impossible to live in an old country like England, especially in this part of it, without becoming more or less infected by a love of archæology.

To

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To go no further, take the City of Carlisle, "the local history" of which, as we have lately been told on high authority, "stands out beyond that of almost any other English city on the surface of English history."* Such a city is in itself a temple of archæology; and though our complicated system of railways, and our grand new station, and our factory chimneys, have done much to vindicate our claim to respect in the minds of those who see things from a modern standpoint, still nothing can obliterate the interesting history of Carlisle; and as her castle, her cathedral, her conventual remains, and some portions of her walls still stand as grand archæological monuments, so also recent examination has added to our knowledge and brought to light new treasures. I may mention in passing the discovery of the remains of a wooden stockade of Roman date in various parts of the city, corroborating the notion that the old Roman town was fortified, not with a stone wall, but with wooden defences: of some beautiful bronze relics, notably a bronze torque; and of a large monumental stone, now in the Carlisle museum. Besides which discoveries belonging to the Roman period, it is only right to add that the careful restorations which have been effected by the Dean and Chapter, under the skilful and careful direction of the late much lamented George Edmund Street, have thrown light upon several points connected with the Cathedral and the Abbey.

Passing outside our ancient walls we find monuments of the past of the highest interest, English, British, Roman, in profusion. I will venture to specify those which have produced the deepest impression upon my own mind.

In the first place, it is impossible to pass from village to village in Cumberland without having the condition of things during the days of border warfare brought home very clearly to the imagination. It is not so much the existence

* Freeman's "Reign of William Rufus," vol. i., p. 317.

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of houses of defence like Rose Castle and Naworth, and the fact that almost every house of any magnitude contains its ancient tower, or peel, though now frequently disguised by modern improvements,—not this so much as the fortress churches, which bring back vividly the pugnacious and unsettled condition of the country a few centuries ago. Such churches as those of Great Salkeld, of Dearham, of Newton Arlosh, of Burgh by Sands, tell a strange archæological tale. Perhaps in some respects the church of Burgh by Sands is the most interesting of those which I have mentioned. I may add that the tale which this curious church tells is rendered more, rather than less, clear by a recent careful restoration. There you have the tower with its impregnable walls, the iron gate between it and the nave, the north aisle with its windows high above the ground, and with a western entrance commanded by an aperture in the impregnable tower, through which a small gun within the tower would pour forth its contents if necessary upon an attacking party with great comfort and sense of security to those who manned it. Altogether these fortified churches tell a strange and interesting tale. One of the grounds upon which Henry VIII. was petitioned to spare the Abbey church of Holme Cultram was, that it was the only place of defence of the inhabitants against the marauding Scots.

But the interest which is connected with monuments of border warfare and records of early English and mediæval history, appears to me almost to vanish by comparison with that which attaches to the relics of the Roman occupation. A man has no need to be a skilful archæologist in order to be carried away by thoughts suggested by the Roman wall. May I say, in a parenthesis, how welcome amongst us is the Roman wall's historian,—much more welcome than the greatest of his name would have been in Carlisle in those days to which I have just now referred? I will venture to assume that most of us are acquainted more or less with Dr. Bruce's magnificent volume; and assuming

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assuming this, I will say boldly that to my own mind no monument of the past seems to be comparable in grandeur and intensity of interest with the Roman wall. The identification of the various stations by means of the *Notitia*, the light thrown upon the wisdom and craft of the great nation by the employment of foreign troops, so arranged as to guard against conspiracy, the military skill evinced in the formation of a continuous road guarded by the wall from bitter foes on one side, and by the vallum from questionable friends on the other, the beauty of much of the masonry now as good as when first built, the evidence of a large population living in luxury and refinement in a country now waste and wild,—these, and a hundred other points, which present themselves to persons of ordinary intelligence, seem to bring home to the mind Roman days, Roman power, Roman cleverness, Roman luxury, in a way in which books without such illustration frequently fail to do. A visit which I was permitted to make a few years ago to Chesters, and a day spent under the auspices of Mr. Clayton and Dr. Bruce at Borcovicus and the neighbourhood, seemed to me almost sufficient to convert the most utilitarian admirer of the nineteenth century into a devout archæologist. It is a curious comment upon the transient character of some of man's greatest works, that the commonest record of the Roman wall down south should be found in the London advertisement of "Best Wallsend Coals!"

It would be wrong, however, to limit the testimony of the Roman occupation of this part of Britain to the great wall. Even without taking account of its principal treasure, this neighbourhood would be rich in Roman antiquities. Especially I may refer to the remarkable discovery of Roman altars made at Maryport in the year 1870. No less than seventeen were found within a circular area of about twenty yards in diameter. And it is a striking fact that they were almost beyond doubt carefully deposited where they were found;

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found; they seem to have been hidden on some critical occasion, in order to save them from desecration. If this be so, we may congratulate the Romans upon their success, for so I think that security for some sixteen centuries may properly be called. An altar of Vulcan, which Dr. Bruce pronounces to be almost, if not quite, unique in Britain, would seem to have been an unconscious prophecy of the West Cumberland iron trade.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the existence of the spirit of which the Royal Archæological Institute is a chief embodiment, will be effective in saving from injury or destruction some of the Roman relics which it is not easy to preserve by any direct agency. Complaints have been made in recent years of injury done to the inscriptions on the Gelt rock; and the county history contains a record of an inscription in the quarries near Rose Castle, which has so completely disappeared that I can find upon the spot not even a tradition of its existence. It seems to me strange, though possibly some good reason may be assigned for the fact, that in the Bill "for the better protection of ancient Monuments," introduced by the Lord Chancellor and now before Parliament, the schedules contain nothing Roman.

It would be impossible, as it is unnecessary, to specify all the interesting marks of the Roman occupation and the relics of Roman civilisation which abound throughout the district; but I will just refer to the remains at Ravenglass, because recent excavations, which have discovered the hypocaust, have placed the ruins there existing upon a firm Roman basis, which I suppose they previously occupied only in the minds of experts.

Passing from Roman antiquities, I may congratulate archæologists upon the remarkable discovery of the sculptured stone with Runic inscription at Brough-under-Stainmore, and upon the additional light lately thrown upon the well-known cross in the churchyard of Gosforth. Doubtless

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Doubtless we shall hear something upon both these subjects before the Carlisle meeting comes to an end.

It is matter for perhaps more than local stisfaction, that all the recent discoveries to which I have referred, and many others, are duly chronicled in the "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society."

The archæological wealth of this district in reality constitutes a subject with which even an archæologist would find it difficult to deal in a short address; I, who am not an archæologist, shall feel content in bringing my survey to an end with a notice of something which has lately been done in this diocese, and of which I believe that the Institute will approve.

I refer to an examination which has been systematically made of the ancient church plate existing in the diocese. The results of the labour expended upon this work have been far more interesting and remunerative than was at all expected when the design was formed. I need not specify these results, because they have been recorded in a volume, which I believe is published almost at the same moment as that which is signalised by the visit to Carlisle of the Archæological Institute, and of which I trust that many members will purchase a copy. Besides this, I may mention that some of the most interesting specimens of plate will be exhibited in our temporary museum. Amongst these may be specified a beautiful mediæval chalice, which I am able to commend to your notice as being one of about a dozen specimens known at the present time to be in existence.*

Might not the example of the Diocese of Carlisle be followed with advantage elsewhere? I ask the question with all modesty; but I will not pause for a reply.

Instead of doing this, I will occupy your attention for a few minutes with some remarks of a more general kind than

* In his handbook of "College and Corporation Plate" (1881), Mr. Cripps says, "Some eight or ten are all that are known to remain of these beautiful chalices, with their patens." A few more have, I am told, been since found.

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those which I have offered hitherto. The time has gone by in which archæology can be confounded with antiquarianism of the Monkbarns type. We recognise that archæology, being in reality the science of past time, is the basis of history, of politics, even in a certain sense of religion itself. The discovery of a coin or of an inscription leads not merely to the enrichment of a museum of curiosities, but perhaps to the settlement of some historical doubt, or even to the re-writing of some chapter of history. And even apart from historical and kindred studies, some knowledge of what may be called archæology would seem to be in our own days a necessary possession of every man, —and I may add every woman,—who lays claim to what may rightly be called a liberal education. Indeed, so far from archæology being a special possession or which certain eccentric persons of Dry-as-dust proclivities may be regarded as holding a patent, it is not too much to say that every well-educated person is in some degree an archæologist, though, like M. Jourdain in the matter of speaking prose, he may not have been always aware of it.

Such a person goes into a picture gallery. He may not be an expert, but he will almost certainly have made himself acquainted with the leading facts connected with the early developement of pictorial art in the Low Countries, in Germany, in Italy: he will know something of the names and histories and characters of the early masters, and of the schools which they founded: he will take an intelligent view of art, because he knows something of its history. Is not this archæology?

And I suppose that the same thing is true of music. Of course we may in a certain sense enjoy music without knowing anything about it, especially if the music in question has the simplicity of "Cherry Ripe," or the patriotic associations of "God save the Queen": but if we wish to go beyond the mere tickling of the ear and the ignorant expression of satisfaction at a pretty tune, we must

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must know something of the early masters of sound, must have traced the growth of musical science, and so have become in a mild form musical archæologists.

This fact is perhaps realised more distinctly in the case of architecture than in that of any other art. Architecture without archæology is manifestly mere confusion. There is plenty of knowledge of course which still remains the property of the architectural expert; but the larger number of educated persons, on going into a building like our Cathedral, feel themselves at home with the different styles of arches and windows that it contains; they will not grossly confound one date with another, they will see at a glance the rough history of the building, and so far forth they will prove the existence in their minds of archæological knowledge.

May I give an amusing instance to show that in this respect improvement has been made in recent years?

In the course of your visit to Carlisle, you will doubtless see the Fratry. The recent restoration has brought into prominence the pulpit, in which in olden days the reader stood for the edification of the brethren at their meals. It would be difficult now to mistake the purpose of the pulpit; but till lately it was popularly known as "the Confessional," and in order to carry out this view the artist who has drawn the pulpit for "Billings' Illustrations of Carlisle Cathedral" has represented a woman kneeling on the floor below!

I have remarked already that archæology extends even to politics and religion; and this is indeed true. I do not know upon what principle men settle the colour of their politics, or whether they all adopt the same principle, or even whether it can be asserted that principle of any kind universally enters into politics; but I am sure that anyone who would take an intelligent view of public affairs must not be content to regard the present condition of this country, and its constitution, and its mode of government, as something which can be examined in the abstract, without

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without reference to the complicated history upon which it rests and out of which it has grown. A politician must have a grasp of history, and history is archæological or nothing.

Nor is there anything unreal in extending these remarks, as I have done by anticipation, to religion itself. The complicated relations of churches and sects, the justification or the condemnation of the position taken up by this or that religious body, the hopes or the fears connected with any apparently new but perhaps essentially old development of doctrine or practice—all these, and many like things, can be intelligently judged only by the man who has gone deeply into the stores of Christian antiquity, and qualified himself for forming an opinion upon the present by a careful and candid study of the past. A sound divine must have other qualifications; but he may not omit to make himself a sacred archæologist.

And what shall we say of science—at least of some of its branches? Surely we may say this, that geology and the sciences allied to it have opened up a hyper-archæological chapter in the history of the world. The works of man carry us back into a very ancient past: here in this country we have magnificent remains of Roman civilization, and those remains testify to a previous civilization, if civilization it is to be called, of which we have relics in our British mounds and monuments; and the ruins of Troy, and the wonderful monuments of Assyria and Egypt, not to mention other countries, carry us back to a period when Roman power was yet in the womb of time; and the recent evidences of prehistoric man carry us further still into the dim darkness of ancient days; but the geologist can smile at archæology such as this, and can tell of days when as yet neither man nor his works existed, when the fauna and flora had nothing in common with what we now see, when the mountains which now are were not, when the arrangements of land and water were totally different from those which

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which exist now. Archæology such as this, however, is not for us to-day; and indeed there is plenty to occupy an archæologist without trespassing upon ground which belongs to others. In an old country like this archæology is almost in the air: the names of places, Carlisle, Aspatria, Dovenby, Torpenhow,—of mountains, High-street, Illbell, Silverhow, —of churches, S. Mungo, S. Bees, Ninekirks,—of families, Howard, Muncaster, Le Fleming, Curwen, Senhouse,— these names of places, and persons, and things, together with all the *bys* and the *casters* and the *thwaites* and the *kirks*, seem to suggest, even to the most quiet, unimaginative mind, the almost necessity of asking questions as to the way in which names and things have come to be such as they actually are.

But there is archæology nearer at hand than this. Shall I be pardoned if I say, that we have before us a remarkable study in archæology every time we read a page of a printed book?

The type is *Roman* letter; it is as genuine a relic of Roman civilization, as the Roman wall itself, and a witness of the days when we borrowed from our conquerors characters in which to express our language, which was not theirs. But what is the language printed upon the page? a composite result as we all know: what geologists would call a conglomerate: a Teutonic basis, with bits of French, Latin, Greek, it may be Arabic or Hebrew, imbedded in it: so that to account for every word in an ordinary page of an ordinary English book would be a tolerably stiff exercise in what is virtually archæology, even to a well-educated man. But there is a still more curious piece of archæology existing on the page. In the corner you find a number; it is not in Roman figures, but in what we commonly call Arabic: and the complete explanation of these Arabic numerals carries us into the antiquities of India, the ingenuity of ancient Indian mathematicians in inventing what is called the *device of place*, and the manner in which Indian

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Indian science travelled to the west through Arabia, this transmission being connected with the conquests of the great Arabian prophet, and so forth. The complete explanation of all the phenomena presented by an ordinary page of an ordinary English book, would form materials for a stout volume of an Archæological Journal.

But I must hasten to draw this address to a close, lest perchance the earliest part of it should become so ancient, as compared with the latter, as to try the patience even of professed archæologists. Shakspeare makes his sententious philosopher in "As You Like It," speak of *sermons in stones*: and I will conclude my archæological remarks with one or two reflections extracted from a stone.

The stone shall be one in the walls of the Church of Burgh by Sands, to which I have already incidentally referred. It is a stone which has apparently been in its present place for many centuries, and must have looked much as it does now when King Edward I. was here, and when he died hard by. Plenty of rough work in the way of border warfare that stone has seen. But there are certain marks upon it, which open up another chapter in its history: experts will tell you that it is a Roman stone, and a very little experience will enable any ordinary eye to detect this fact. The stone then has been taken, like many others, which you may single out here and there, from the old Roman station, the existence of which the name of Burgh attests; and so we see that when our stone looked upon Edward I. or when Edward I. looked upon it, it was already an antiquity of respectable standing; it had then been quarried, say, a thousand years, and had witnessed many and strange vicissitudes of men and things. But if we trace the stone further still, and consider how it came to be in the quarry, from which it was taken by the hands of the Roman soldier or quarryman, we shall find perhaps that it was formed from pre-existent materials belonging to a condition of the world not one thousand but a thousand thousand years previous:

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previous: and so we have archæology beyond archæology, and archæology beyond that: our stone tells us not merely of mediæval history, nor even of Roman residence in Britain, but it bears in its structure evidence of formations and transformations going on under the influence of the powers of nature in the dim distance of the mysterious past. All things are comparative, and the portion of history with which archælogists are concerned is an almost inappreciable moment in the life of this stone.

Under the influence of such a contemplation archæologists may well feel, that after all they belong to the present more than to the past. I will take advantage of this feeling for the purpose of saying, that the most recent event in the history of Carlisle has been the preparation which has been cordially and laboriously made for the due reception of the Royal Archæological Institute. I trust that the event though recent, with its present and future results, will prove interesting even to the most orthodox archæologist who honours Carlisle with his presence.

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ART. XXV.—*The Place of Carlisle in English History.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., Hon. D.C.L., LL.D. *Read at Carlisle, August 1st,* 1882.*

IN the course of the journeyings of our Institute through various parts of our island, in the course of the meetings which it holds year by year in our chief cities and boroughs, it often happens that the immediate scene of our researches specially calls back, as a matter either of likeness or of contrast, some other scene which we have examined in earlier years. I remember well how, in the discharge of the office which the kindness of the Institute has so often laid upon me, I was once called on to flit over a large part of our island, from British Cardiff to East-Saxon Colchester. Strangely enough, I found that in two stirring periods of history, at some distance from one another, in the first century and in the seventeenth, the fates of the Silurian and the East-Saxon lands were twined together in a way which beforehand we should hardly have looked for. Here, on our second visit to this renowned border city, on my first visit to it in the character of an officer of the Archæological Institute, my thoughts have wandered to stages in our progress earlier than the meeting of the Institute at Cardiff. From the hill and the castle of Carlisle I would ask you to look southeastward to the flats of Holderness, to the haven of Kingston-upon-Hull: I would ask you also to carry your eyes more directly southward, to that one among all the *chesters* that Rome has left us which has specially taken that once vague description as its own proper name, to the scene of the bloody victory of Æthelfrith and the peaceful triumph of Eadgar, to the city of the Legions by the Dee.

* Read at the Joint Meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute and the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, at the Opening of the Historic Section.

Between

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Between Carlisle and Chester, between Carlisle and Kingston-upon-Hull, I trust to show some instructive historic analogies and contrasts.

There are not many of the chief cities and boroughs of England which can point with undoubting certainty to a personal founder in strictly historic times. On founders who are purely mythical I need hardly dwell, and it would almost seem that they are passing out of date even in popular belief: I found at Colchester that, while yet wilder legends were still in vogue, old King Coel was well nigh forgotten in his own city, and that it needed rather hard work to get a copy of the music of his own song to sing on the battlements of what for the nonce we may call his own castle. Among more real personages, who do not claim to be looked on as grandfathers of the founder of the New Rome, it has happened in not a few cases that some well-ascertained man has founded a castle or a monastery, and that a town has grown up around his foundation. So it was, to take only two examples out of many. with the Abbey of Saint Eadmund in one age and with the castle of Richmond in another. So in northern England Durham owes its being to the happy choice of Ealdhun, when he picked out the peninsula girded by the Wear as the fittest place to shelter Saint Cuthbert's body after its wanderings, So in southern England the younger Salisbury owes its being to the happy choice of Richard Poore, where he moved his church from the waterless hill of elder days to the merry field that looks up to it. But I speak rather of cities directly called into being as cities, as great military or commercial posts, by the policy of princes who strove to strengthen or to defend their kingdom. We believe that Edinburgh came into being at the bidding of Eadwine the Bretwalda as the outpost of Anglian Lothian against the Scot. We know that Taunton came into being at the bidding of Ine the King as the outpost of Saxon Somerset against the Briton. But the foundations of Eadwine and Ine belong to a time so early that

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that we can hardly look on them as cities or boroughs in the later sense. In the long list of English towns which first appear in history among the works of Eadward the Unconquered and Æthelflæd the Lady, it is hard to say where they bade an uninhabited site to become for the first time a dwelling-place of man, and where they simply strengthened sites which had from the beginning of English settlement in Britain been covered with English homes. But it is one of the works of Æthelflæd, and one of the works if not of the elder Eadward, yet of the namesake of after-times who walked in his path and renewed his glories, which I would ask you to look to as fellows, in the way of likeness and of contrast, to the city in which we are now met. Chester, Carlisle, Kingston-upon-Hull, can all point without doubting to their personal founders. Let the eldest of the three, the work of the Mercian Lady, wait a while. I would first ask you, dwellers and sojourners within these ancient walls, at the foot of yonder historic castle, dwellers and sojourners on a spot which has played so great a part in English warfare, not to look with scorn on the lowlier, the more peaceful, the more recent, fame of the great haven by the mouth of the Humber. I can hardly believe that the men of Hull would willingly exchange their founder for the founder of the Carlisle that now is. On the stairs of their town-house stands their founder's statue which fifteen years back I had often to pass, and which I could never bring myself to pass without showing some mark of worship to the greatest of England's later kings. Carlisle, I believe, contains no such memorial of her founder, and, if she did, I am not sure that some years of very near acquaintance with him and his doings would lead me to pay him like reverence. For while Hull may boast herself as the creation of Edward the First, the Carlisle that now is can claim no worthier founder than William the Red. I give the founder of Hull his conventional number under protest. Lawyers and courtiers have taught us

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us to forget the worthies of our own stock; but the men of the great Edward's own day better knew his place in history; they counted him, by a truer and worthier reckoning, as Edward the Third and Edward the Fourth, fourth among the Kings of the English, third among the Emperors of Britain. If we are to change the number of the founder of Carlisle, we must change it the other way; for, as we are standing here on soil which formed no part of the realm of the Conqueror, he who was William the Second for the kingdom of England, might be deemed to be only William the First within the earldom of Carlisle. Between the founder of Hull and the founder of Carlisle, between Edward the First and William the Red, the general contrast is certainly as wide as any that can be found between any two of the princes and leading men of our history. I need not now draw their portraits. The portrait of the great Edward I have striven over and over again to draw as occasion served. The portrait of William Rufus I have so lately drawn in the fullest detail of which I am capable that I am not as yet ready with a single freshening touch. Between the father of his people and their oppressor, between the foul blasphemer and the devout crusader, between the man of the most debased life and the mirror of every personal virtue, there is indeed little likeness. And though the reign of Rufus does in its way mark a stage in our national progress, it is hardly in the same way as the reign of the king whom we may hail as the founder of our later commerce and of our later law, the king who made fast for ever the great political work of the uncle whom he overthrew. And yet there are points in which two men so unlike as the founder of Hull and the founder of Carlisle may truly stand side by side. Each gave a King to Scotland; each warred with the Briton; and, if the Welsh warfare of Rufus brought him but little of immediate gain or immediate glory, it did in truth open the way for the victorious warfare of Edward. But, before all things, each enlarged the

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the borders of the kingdom of England in a way that was done by no king between them. That the ground on which I now stand is English ground is the work of William the Red. And that the city in which we are met has been for nearly eight hundred years a dwelling-place of man is his work also.

But it may be that some one stirred up by a praisworthy local patriotism, may arise and ask how the King's-Town-upon-Hull, whose plain English name bespeaks a comparatively modern origin, can be in any way set side by side with a city like this, whose British name points to an antiquity far older than the Conqueror's son. Hull, he may say, had undoubtedly no being before the days of Edward the First; do I mean to say, he may ask, that Carlisle had no being before the days of William the Red? And I must answer that, although each prince is, on his own ground, alike entitled to the honours of a founder, yet the work of Rufus by the Eden and the work of Edward by the Humber were not wholly of the same kind. They differed in this, that the one called into being a haven of peaceful trade, while the other called into being a border fortress for the defence of his kingdom. But they differed further in this. Edward was strictly a creator. If men already dwelled on the site of the King's-Town-on-Hull, there was, till his keen eye marked the advantages of the site, nothing that could claim the name of town or borough. But William Rufus, in founding what has lasted from his day to ours, did but call into renewed being what had been in ages long before his. He called into being a city of men, and he girt it with walls and towers; but he called it into being on a site where men had dwelled in past times, and which had been defended by walls and towers of an older pattern than those with which the Red King fenced it in a second time.

As I have already hinted, if we had no record to tell us of the fact, the very name of *Carlisle* would be enough to teach

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teach us that the history of this city is essentially different from that of any other English city; and, above all, that its first being dates from a day long before the day of William Rufus. Alone among the cities of what we now deem the proper England, Carlisle bears an almost untouched British name, a name which was assuredly not given to it by a King of the English of Norman birth. This alone would show that, if Rufus was on this ground truly a founder, yet he was a founder only on ground where others had been founders long before him. Now here comes in the analogy between Carlisle and the other city with which I have already asked you to compare it. The part which was played at Carlisle by the son of the Conqueror was essentially the same as the part which had been played at Chester by the daughter of Ælfred. Rufus and Æthelflæd alike called into renewed being a city which had once been, but which was no longer. Deva, Caerlleon, the City of the Legions, had stood void of men for three hundred years, since Æthelfrith smote the Briton beneath its Roman walls. It stood, as Anderida stands still, a "waste chester," which the invading Dane could turn on occasion to warlike uses.* The Lady of the Mercians built up the waste places, and filled the empty walls with inhabitants. The "waste chester" rose again, bearing an English version of its ancient name. Caerlleon, City of the Legions, became in English mouths *Legeceaster*. But so renowned was the chester of the Legions, the chester of Æthelflæd, among the many chesters of the land, that it became emphatically the Chester, and has for ages been known by no other name.

Whether Roman Luglubalia, British Caerlluel, ever sank so low as Roman Deva, British Caerlleon, we have no means of judging. We know not whether it ever stood as a mere "waste chester," like Deva and Anderida. On the whole, the evidence looks as if Rufus had not found it utterly desolate. The story of its restoration looks that

* See the Chronicles, 894.

way;

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way; the history of the name looks that way. At Caerlleon-on-Dee, the British name was, according to the usual rule, turned round and translated. The Briton, according to the idiom of his tongue, had put his *caer* before the qualifying name; the Englishman, according to the idiom of his tongue, put his *ceaster* after it. *Caerlleon* became *Legeceaster*, as the southern *Caergwent* became *Wintanceaster*, *Winchester*. But on the spot where we now stand the British name has ever lived on. *Lugubalia* became *Caerlluel*, as *Venta* became *Caergwent*; but while *Caergwent* has become *Winchester*, *Caerlluel* has not, in modern speech, become something like *Lulchester*, but, with the slightest change of sound, it remains *Caerlluel* to this day. As far as modern usage goes, it has not shared the fate of the Caerlleon by the Dee and the Caergwent by the Itchen; it has lived on, like the other Caerlleon by the Usk, the other Caergwent on the Silurian shore. And this fact, the fact that we speak of Winchester and not of Caergwent, while we speak of Carlisle and not of Lulchester, becomes the more remarkable when we light on another fact, namely that, for a season, on some mouths at least, Lulchester was the actual name of the city where we are met. There is just evidence enough, but only just enough, to show that the English form of the name was really known.* In the ninth century we hear of Lulchester; in the eleventh we hear of Caerlluel again. This seems to prove almost more than if the name of Lulchester had never been heard at all. It does not absolutely prove continuous habitation; but, combined with other facts, it looks like it. And it does prove that, while there had once been an English day on the spot, it was followed by a renewed British day. In the case of the City of the Legions, some form of the name, British or Latin, must have lived on for

* The form *Luercestre* is found twice in the two lives of Saint Cuthberht printed in the Surtees edition of Simeon of Durham, pp. 146, 231. It must, as the editor says, be a corruption of *Luelcestre*. *L* and *r* sometimes get confounded in a strange way, as we often see *Guillermus* for *Guillelmus*.

Æthelflæd

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Æthelflæd to translate into English. But it was she who translated it. In her father's day the spot had no English name; it was not the Chester of the Legions, it was simply a "waste chester." But William Rufus did not think it needful to translate the name of Caerlluel into either French or English. He did not think it needful to call again into being the English translation which had been once made, but which was by his time doubtless quite forgotten. Neither did he, like the founders of Richmond and Montgomery, give his creation a name in his own tongue, borrowed perhaps from some well-known spot in his own land. All this shows that, when Rufus came, the British name of the spot must have been in familiar use.* The name of Caerlluel must have been far better known in his day than the name of Caerlleon could have been in the days of Æthelflæd. And this looks as if Caerlluel was not so utterly a waste chester in the days of Rufus as Caerlleon-on-Dee was in the days of Æthelflæd. But we must further remember that English Æthelflæd had every temptation to give her restored creation an English name. To the French-speaking Rufus—for there is no reason to think that he knew our tongue like his greater brother†—a British name would sound no more strange than an English one. If he found the name of Caerlluel as well established as the name of Eoforwic, he had no more temptation to change the name of Caerlluel than to change the name of Eoforwic.‡

Such then are our analogies and contrasts. Between

* Yet *Luel*, rather than *Caerlluel* would seem to have been the better known form. See Sim. Dun. Historiæ Recapitulatio, 854, 883 (pp. 67, 73, Surtees ed.). In the former place the words are "Lugubalia, id est Luel (nunc dicitur Carleil)." In the second we read of Abbot Eadred that "pro eo quod habitabat in Luel Lulisc cognominabatur."

† Indeed the Peterborough Chronicle (1095) seems directly to imply the contrary. William Rufus gives the tower which he makes to blockade Bamburgh the French name of *Malvoisin*. As the chronicler puts it, "hine on his spæce Malveisin het, pæt is ou Englisc yfel nehhebur."

‡ The *contraction* of *Eoforwic* into *York* is not change in the sense that is here meant, and there are several intermediate forms.

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Carlisle and Kingston-on-Hull there is no such fellowship as may be deemed to arise between those two of the chief cities and boroughs of England which, alone or almost alone, can each claim as its personal founder a king of all England and a king who enlarged the bounds of England. Between Carlisle and Chester there is such fellowship as may be deemed to arise between cities which, after lying for a long time more or less thoroughly forsaken were again called into being as cities of men, as border fortresses of the English realm. Other cities have in the like sort risen again. So pre-eminently did Aquæ Solis, Acemannesceaster, the old borough which by another name men Bath call. So in all likelihood did most of the inhabited *chesters* throughout England; so not unlikely did *Londonwick*, *Londonborough*, itself. But in no other cases can we be so certain of the fact, so certain of the motive, as we can be of the work of Æthelflæd in 907 and of the work of William Rufus in 1092.

But it rarely happens that any ancient and historic city, however close and instructive may be its points of likeness to its fellows, is left without some points in its history which are absolutely its own and which might serve as its definition. I do not mean simply incidental definitions, based on some great fact in the history of the city. In this way we might so define Chester as the city which beheld the last great victory of the heathen Englishman over the Christian Briton and which was the last of English cities to bow to the Norman Conqueror. So we might define the elder Salisbury as the city which looks down alike on the field of battle which decreed that Britain should be English and on the field of council which decreed that England should be one. These are indeed events whose memory is now inseparably bound up with the historic spots where they took place; but the course of history might have taken such a turn as to cause them to take place elsewhere. York or Exeter, instead of Chester, might have been the last city to

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to hold out against the Conqueror. Gloucester or Winchester, and not Salisbury, might have been the scene of his great act of legislative wisdom. To take the highest range of all, if York stands alone in Britain as the seat of Imperial rule, the peer of Trier and Milan and Ravenna, that post of supreme dignity might just as easily have fallen to the lot of London or Verulam or Camelodunum. If Lincoln stands out within our world as the head of aristocratic commonwealths, as the city which but for the day of Senlac and the day of Salisbury, might perchance have ruled like Bern and Venice over subject lands, yet it might have been that the lawmen of Stamford or Cambridge should have held the place which was held by the lawmen of the Colony of Lindum. I speak rather of definitions which enter as it were into the essential being of the cities themselves. It is after all an accident in the history of Exeter that she should have withstood William the Conqueror and welcomed William the Deliverer. It is an essential part of her personal being that she should have been among the cities what Glastonbury is among churches, that she should have been the one city of Britain whose historic life is absolutely unbroken, the one city which passed from the Christian Briton to the Christian Englishman, it may even be without storm or battle, certainly without any period of abiding desolation. And Carlisle has her personal definition of the like kind. We can say of her that she is the one city which, having once become part of an English kingdom, again fell back under the rule of the Briton, the one city which became again part of the united English realm when, by a strange process indeed, the son of the Norman Conqueror drove out the one man of English blood who ruled as a prince in any corner of Britain.

It is a relief to one whose immediate business it is to speak specially of the city of Carlisle that he is not called upon to mix himself up with all the puzzles which surround the

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the history and ethnology of Cumberland. He is not called upon to fix any limits to the extent of a name whose extent was ever changing. When Eadmund the Doer-of-great-deeds gave Cumberland, as perhaps the first of territorial fiefs, to his Scottish fellow-worker, when Æthelred, in one of his strange fits of energy, came to Cumberland on an errand of havoc, the site of Carlisle may perhaps have been in some way touched in either case. But the city of Carlisle was certainly untouched; for the city of Carlisle just then was a thing which had been and which was to be again, but which at that moment was not. Nor is he called upon to solve that most puzzling of problems, the history of Scandinavian settlement and influence in the land around us. That Scandinavians of some kind, Danes or Northmen, made their way into the land is plain alike from the record of history and from the traces which they have left to this day. On the eastern side of England, in Northumberland, in Lindesey, in East-Anglia, we know the time of their coming; we know the names of their kings and earls who reigned at York. Here we simply know that they did come, and, as a matter of actual record, we know that they did come by one fact only. But that is a fact which touches our immediate subject in the most direct way. The one thing that we know was done in this immediate region by Scandinavian hands is the thorough destruction which Scandinavian hands wrought in the city where we are come together, destruction so thorough that, for two hundred years, the city ceased to be a city.* This fact concerns us most intimately; I do not know that we are at this moment called on to enter on the problem, how it was that Cumberland could be spoken of as especially

* The words of Florence (1092) seem enough—"Hæc civitas, ut illis in partibus aliæ nonnullæ, a Danis paganis ante cc. annos diruta, et usque ad id tempus mansit deserta." We of course connect this with the notice of the Danish invasion and the action of Abbot Eadred in Simeon of Durham (875) and the two lives of Saint Cuthberht before referred to.

Danish

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Danish land,* while the presence of Danes in it certainly did not hinder the succession of a line of Scottish princes.† But I am not called on to speak of Cumberland. In the time that specially concerns me, we have only to do with the name of Carlisle, not at all with the name of Cumberland. The land which the Red King added to the English kingdom was not the land of Cumberland, but the land of Carlisle. When under Henry that land became an English earldom, it was an earldom of Carlisle, not an earldom of Cumberland. When under the same king the land became an English diocese, I need hardly say that its bishop was Bishop of Carlisle, not of Cumberland; by that time the territorial titles of bishops had altogether died out in England. The land which formed its diocese had no name, it had to be pointed at as that land in which is the new bishopric of Carlisle.‡ The name of Cumberland, like the name of Westmoreland, as the name of a part of the immediate English kingdom, dates only from the days of the Angevin. And, as for the problems of Cumbrian ethnology, let them be debated beyond the city walls. Of the city itself written history tells us only, what we have already heard, that the Dane overthrew the city and left it empty, and a point on which I shall have to speak again, that, when the Norman came to restore and to repeople city and land, it was with a colony of Saxons that he repeopled them.

I have defined Carlisle as being that one among the cities of England which, having once become English, became British again. The unbroken English life of Carlisle begins with the coming of the Red King and the settlement of his southern colony. For two hundred years before he came, it had been British or nothing. For at least two hundred

* See Henry of Huntingdon, 1000, where he speaks of Æthelred's Cumbrian expedition as a victory over the Danes; "Ubi maxima mansio Danorum erat."

† See the succession of the kings of Cumberland or Strathclyde in Palgrave, English Commonwealth, ii. cccxxvi.

‡ Hen. Hunt. i. 5 (p. 10 ed Arnold). "Illa regio in qua est novus episcopatus Carluil."

years

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years before that, it had been part of an English kingdom, that of the Angles of Northumberland. For at least two hundred years before that, it had shared the independence of those parts of Britain from which the Roman had gone, and into which the Angle or the Saxon had not yet come. Of the Roman and British life of the city we have little to tell, but that it had a long Roman and British life no man can doubt. Under various shapes and corruptions of its Roman and Britsh name, we find it in every list of the cities of Britain. Lugubalium, Lugubalia—I may be forgiven for cleaving to the shape which the name takes in the pages of English Bæda—occupies a site which seems marked out by Nature for a great fortress. It is a position, it is a site, which seems specially marked out as designed to guard a border, to defend a land against dangerous neighbours who may one day become wasting invaders. And this duty the hill of Lugubalia has had laid upon it throughout more than one long period, in the hands of more than one set of masters. I was tempted to say elsewhere that it is not without a certain fitness that the spot which was to be the bulwark of England against the Scot should of itself put on somewhat of a Scottish character. I pointed out that the castle-hill of Carlisle bore a strong likeness, though a likeness in minature, to the castle-hills of Edinburgh and Stirling. In all three the castle crowns the summit of a hill, steep at one end only. It crowns it therefore in a different sense from those hill-towns where the fortified akropolis forms the centre of the city. At Edinburgh, at Stirling, at Carlisle, the castle alike crowns and ends the city. It is at once an akropolis and an advanced bulwark. All three strongholds are emphatically watch-towers, homes of sentinels, standing and looking forth to guard the land of their friends and to overlook the land of their enemies. But when I spoke of Carlisle, the bulwark of England against the Scot, as having itself a Scottish character, I was thinking of some later ages of its history.

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history. In wider view of the history of our island, I might have expressed myself otherwise. From one side we might look on all three as being for several ages charged with what was essentially the same historic mission. In a more general view than that of the fluctuating political boundary of the English and Scottish kingdoms, each of these fortresses, looking out as they all do, so significantly and so threateningly to the north, might pass, from the days of Eadwine, from the days of Rufus, as a bulwark of Teutonic Britain against the Celtic lands beyond it. That duty was at least as well discharged by Stirling in the hands of an English-speaking King of Scots as it was by Carlisle in the hands of a French-speaking King of England. In a broad view of things, the artificial boundary of the English and Scottish kingdoms, that is, the boundary which parted off the Angle of Northumberland from the Angle of Lothian, is of far less moment than the boundary of Teutonic speech and civilization, whatever might be the name or the formal nationality of its champions. But what distinguishes Carlisle from its two northern fellows is that, while it has shared with them the championship of Teutonic Britain against the Celt, it alone of the three, had already held an analogous place in days before any part of Britain was Teutonic.

It will be at once seen that, while Stirling and Edinburgh guard one natural line of defence, Carlisle guards another. Stirling and Edinburgh guard the northern line, the line of Antoninus and Valentinian, the line drawn across the isthmus between the firths, at the point where Britain becomes so narrow that some ancient writers looked on the land beyond this line as forming another island. It is strange how nearly Valentia, the recovered conquest of the elder Theodosius, answers to the Scotland of later history, the English kingdom ruled by kings bearing a Scottish title. Of that kingdom Stirling and Edinburgh were border fortresses against the genuine Scot, save so far

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far as Teutonic speech and culture crept up the Eastern coast to meet the kindred settlements which the Northman made in the lands which lay beyond the home of the Scot himself. Ages came when that was no mean function; but it was a function whose counterpart was called into only rare and fitful action in the days when the Cæsars ruled in Britain. To hold the land against the Celt was the calling alike of the Roman and Teutonic lords of Britain. But the Roman could not be said to hold anything with a firm and lasting grasp beyond that great bulwark of which Lugubalia kept the western ending, as the Ælian bridge kept the eastern. Speaking without strict topographical accuracy, but with an approach to in near enough to convey the general idea, we commonly say that the Roman wall stretches from Carlisle to Newcastle. The Roman wall, the greater of the Roman walls, the only Roman wall in the sense which the word conveys in modern usage, the mighty bulwark of Hadrian, of Severus, and of Stilicho, may be fairly said to take Lugubalia as one of its starting-points. Not placed itself immediately on the line of the wall, the fortress looks out, as one of its chief points of view, on the station of Stanwix, the near neighbourhood of which may have caused Lugubalia itself to have been really of less military importance in the days of Roman occupation than in either earlier or later times. Yet the fortress itself does in some sort form part of the great bulwark, if it be true, as I have heard suggested, that the moat in advance of the wall to the south may be traced along the line dividing castle and city. On this point I venture no opinion, but leave it wholly to those of greater local knowledge to decide. Of one thing we may be sure, that the Roman was not the first to turn this natural fortress into a place of strength. He was possibly the first to fence in the headland with a wall of masonry—though indeed some have suggested that Lugubalia was defended only by a stockade; he was surely not the first to part it off

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off by a ditch from the sloping ground to the south. We may be sure that such a site as this was marked off as a place of defence even in the days when the art of defence was rudest. Here, as in so many other cases, the Roman did but seize on and improve on the works of the older inhabitants of the land. But we may be equally sure that it was at Roman bidding that the primitive stronghold became the akropolis of a city, a city where the arts and luxury of southern Europe were for the first time planted on this furthest border of Roman abiding power. From his own world the Roman had gone forth to bring the other world of Britain under his dominion. But, as he looked forth from the akropolis of this his most northern city, he must indeed have felt that there was yet another world beyond, a world within which the power of the Cæsars could spread itself only now and then, in moments of special and at last of dying energy.

Presently a time came when the Roman world, within and without Britain, was to be cut short, when the older barbarian world against whose outbreaks Lugubalia had been planted as a bulwark was again to be enlarged, again to take in lands and cities where the Roman had ruled and where he was still to leave his memory behind him. We enter that unrecorded age whose silence is more eloquent than any record, that age of darkness whose gloom gives us a clearer teaching than we can often gain from the fullest light of contemporary history. The Roman has gone; the Teuton has not yet come. The second period of British independence and isolation has begun, the length of which was so widely different in different parts of Britain. In Kent many a man who had seen the eagles of Rome pass away from Britain must have lived to see the keels of Hengest draw near to the coasts of Thanet, and to take his part in the bloody fights when the Welsh fled from the English like fire. Nay, the life of man is now and then so long that some who were born under Roman law, subjects of the

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the sons of Theodosius, may have stayed on to die as helpless elders when Ælle and Cisse left not a Brit alive within the walls of Anderida. Far otherwise was it here in Lugubalia. Two centuries at least of untouched Celtic independence must have passed before this corner of the island which the Roman had forsaken fell under the rule of any Teutonic conqueror. How are we to fill up that long gap when even the most meagre records are speechless? It might indeed be easy to fill it up from the world of legend. We may at pleasure people merry Carlisle with the company which poets of earlier and later days have called into being to gather round the shadowy form of Arthur. The knights and ladies of Arthur's court, their loves and their exploits, I leave poets to deal with; I leave poets too to deal with the warfare of the British prince in lands far beyond the shores of Britain. But the question whether we are to look for a historic Arthur in so northern a part of our island is a fair question for critical discussion. If such an Arthur there was, we may fairly look on Caerlluel as in every way likely to have been his capital. But can any one here who bears in mind whence I have come, reasonably ask me to become the prophet or champion of a northern Arthur? As a disciple of Dr. Guest, I must accept a personal Arthur; but both my local and my personal allegiance constrain me to place him and his exploits in a part of our island far away from this. I must accept an Arthur who was a thorn in the path of our fathers, a valiant enemy who did somewhat to delay the work which turned Britain into England. I must grant to him the glory of a victory of no small moment over the English arms; but I must place that victory far away from Lugubalia and the Roman wall, on the spot where he met Cedric face to face beneath the rings of West-Saxon Badbury. Dwelling within sight of the Tor of Avalon, hard by a hill which bears Arthur's name and which looks out on the spot where men deemed that Arthur slept, I may join

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join in honouring the memory of a gallant foe, the Hector, the Hannibal, the Hereward, of Britain; but I must be allowed to honour him on my own ground or on the ground of my immediate neighbours. If any man asks me to believe that the tyrant Arthur came with the men of Cornwall to win back his wife whom the King of the Summer-land had carried off to the sure shelter of the Glassy isle, I feel no special necessity laid on me to refuse so harmless a request.* But I cannot let the hero of our *antecessors* in the south-western peninsula go farther from us than to the lands which may be seen from his own southern hill. Two British names of which I have often had to speak have a tendency to get confounded both ways. We of the *Æstiva regio* where Arthur found his tomb may let him go so far from us as to keep his court at Caerlleon by the Usk; we cannot part with him on so long a journey as to let him go to keep it at Caerlluel by the Eden.

The fifth and the sixth century pass away; the seventh brings us face to face with deeds which are more certain, and with doers of those deeds of whom, if legend can tell us less, history can tell us more. At some time in that century, earlier or later, Lugubalia, beyond all doubt, passed under English rule. But was it earlier or later? When Æthelfrith had done what Ceawlin had failed to do, when he had cloven asunder the solid British land which still stretched from the Clyde to the Severn Sea, when he had smitten the monks of Bangor and left the City of the Legions a howling wilderness, are we to deem that the spot on which we stand was among the lands which the last heathen king of northern England added to the Northumbrian realm? Or shall we deem it that Lugubalia bowed to Æthelfrith, but that what Æthelfrith won, Cadwalla won back, when for the last time the northern Briton went

* See the Legend in the life of Gildas, § 10, p. xxxix. ed. Stevenson. There we have King Meluas "regnans in æstiva regione," and we read how "Glastonia, id est, Urbs Vitrea. . . . . obsessa est ab Arturo tyranno," &c.

forth

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forth conquering and to conquer? Was the city and its fortress part of the immediate realm of the Bretwaldas Oswald and Oswiu? One thing is certain that, later in the century, Caerlluel formed part of the realm of Ecgfrith. It may have been part of his conquests from the Briton; it was at least not one of those among his conquests which were won only for a moment. For nearly two hundred years after Ecgfrith, the city remained part of the dominions of the Northumbrian kings, part both of the spiritual fold and the temporal possessions of the bishops of Lindisfarn.* In English mouths too at least, its name took an English shape, and British Caerlluel became, as we have seen, English Luelceaster. It had its abbots, its abbesses, one at least among them of royal birth, the sister of Ecgfrith to whom and to others the holy Cuthberht foretold their king's coming end.† Indeed, save his own holy island, few places stand out more conspicuously than Lugubalia in the history of the saint of Lindisfarn. We see him, in the picture of Bæda himself, visiting the city with somewhat of the curiosity of an antiquary, taken, as we have been taken this day, to look at its ancient walls, and to stand by the fountain which had been wrought in a wondrous sort in the days of Roman rule.‡ Can we deem that, of the walls on which Cuthberht gazed we have this day gazed on any abiding fragments? Carlisle is not as dead Anderida, it is not as living Colchester, it is not even as Chester, which was dead and is alive again. Had Saint Cuthberht been taken to see the walls of any of those ancient cities, we could point with all assurance to the stones and bricks on

* We find the grant of Ecgfrith to Saint Cuthberht and the Saint's foundations in the second life in the Surtees Simeon, p. 230:—"Huic adjecerunt civitatem Luel, id est Carlel, et in circuitu XV. miliaria, et ibi Sanctus Cuthbertus congregationem sanctimonialium et abbatissam ordinavit, et scolas ibi constituit." This agrees with the story in Bæda's own Life of Saint Cuthberht, 27.

† Bæda, u. s. The city is described as "Lugubalia civitas, quæ a populis Anglorum corrupte Luel vocatur."

‡ "Deducentibus cum civibus ut videret mœnia civitatis fontemque in ea miro quondam Romanorum opere exstructum."

which

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which he looked, abiding in the place in which he saw them. In the walls of Carlisle I have believed myself to see Roman stones; I leave it to more minute local knowledge than my own to judge whether any of them still abide in the places in which Cuthberht can have looked on them. One would be glad indeed if we could thus directly connect the Carlisle of the present with the great Bernician saint, for it is simply through its connexion with him in life and death that we hear at all of the first English occupation of the city. The living Cuthberht prophesied within it; well nigh two hundred years later the dead Cuthberht appeared in a warning dream to its abbot Eadred. Thus we learn that Lulchester was then still part of the Northumbrian realm. It was to be so no longer. The Dane was in the land, and Luelchester was to perish at his hands, though not to perish for ever. Its abbot had a share in placing a king on the throne of York, now that York was the seat of Danish kings, as it had once been the seat of Roman Cæsars. He had a share in guarding Saint Cuthberht's bones till they found that home at Cunegaceaster which sheltered him till Ealdhun found for them a nobler resting-place. But the city from which Eadred Lulisc took his surname ceased to be, and its site passed away from the rule of the foreign King of Deira, for whom he found a kingdom, from the fellowship of the native saint of Bernicia, for whom he found a tomb. Of the site where Lugubalia once stood we hear nothing; but it cannot fail to have shared the fate of that Cumbrian under-kingdom which afterwards came to form the appanage of the heirs of Scottish kingship, and over which the West-Saxon and Danish lords of all Britain claimed at most the rights of an external over-lord.

Thus we learn from incidental notices, and from incidental notices only, that towards the end of the ninth century, the site, the walls, the ruined dwellings, of Lugubalia, passed away from immediate English rule. They ceased

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ceased to be part of any English kingdom. They had been part of the realm of the Northumbrian; they never became part of the realm of the West-Saxon. They formed part of a kingdom whose princes became the men —perhaps sometimes rather the men of the men—of Danish Cnut and of Norman William, but they were no part of the realm which owned the Danish and the Norman conqueror as its immediate sovereign. It is surely hardly needful for me to dwell on the exploded errors which were matters of more than local controversy only nine years back.* There is surely no doubt now, there ought never to have been any since the day of our Institute's earlier meeting on this spot, why it is that Cumberland and Westmoreland do not appear by those names among the shires which are entered in the Norman Survey. Why Northumberland and Durham are not entered may still be a question, though to my mind it is not a very hard question; but the case of Northumberland and Durham and the case of Cumberland and Westmoreland have nothing in common. Northumberland and Durham might have been entered; we may fairly ask the reason why they were not entered; but Cumberland and Westmoreland, by those names, were no more likely to be entered in Domesday than the earldom of Orkney or the county of Ponthieu. Domesday is a survey of lands which formed part of the dominions of the King of the English, not of lands which formed no part of his dominions. In the days of William the Great, nay, in the days of his sons and of his grandson, there were, as I have already said, no English shires bearing the names of Cumberland and Westmoreland. Of the lands which now bear those names, part already belonged to the English kingdom and formed

* I refer to the controversy in the Times in the year 1873, of which I have said something in my Reign of William Rufus, ii. 545. But I must correct one assumption which I made both in that note and in the text, namely, that Lugubalia was part of the lands lost to Northumberland at the fall of Ecgfrith. I had not given heed enough to the story of Eadred, which clearly fixes the loss of the country, as well as the destruction of the city, to the Danish invasion of 875.

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part of an English shire. Those lands are duly entered in the Survey under the shire of which they then formed a part, the great shire of York, yet greater in those days than it is now. But the parts which immediately concern us, the site of Carlisle, the special land of Carlisle, are not entered in the Survey, for the simple reason that in the days of William the Great, they formed no part of the English kingdom.

Again I repeat—it is no discovery of mine; it was announced in this city three-and-twenty years ago by a master of the history of Northern England*—it was not under the Conqueror himself, but under the son of the Conqueror, that the land of Carlisle was restored to the English realm, that the city rose again, strengthened by fresh bulwarks and colonized by new inhabitants. The tale which carries back Earl Randolf and his earldom into the Conqueror's day, which further turns him from an Earl of Carlisle into an Earl of Cumberland, has been copied over and over again; but no statement ever was more utterly lacking in authority. The reference commonly given is to a well-known passage in the printed text of the writer known as Matthew of Westminster. This would at most prove that a single inaccurate writer of somewhat doubtful personality had made a not very wonderful confusion; but the authority for the common tale is even less than this; it comes simply from a marginal note written by some unknown person in a copy of Matthew Paris.† Genuine contemporary history knows nothing of the restored city of Carlisle till the days of William Rufus; it knows nothing of an earldom of Carlisle till the days of Henry the Clerk. In the year 1092, so witnesses the Chronicle, "the King William with mickle *fyrd* went north to Carlisle, and the borough set up again, and the castle reared, and Dolfin out drove that ere the land wielded, and the castle with his men set, and sith hither

* See Mr. Hodgson Hinde's Paper on the Early History of Cumberland, in the Archæological Journal, xvi. 216.

† This was shown by Dr. Luard in the Times, January 16, 1873. See Saturday Review, January 18, 1873.

south

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south went, and mickle many of churlish folk with wives and cattle thither sent to dwell in the land to till it." There is the true tale. It is a curious instance of the way in which so much of our most trustworthy history has to be patched up from notices which are purely incidental, that it is from another record of this same event that we learn the destruction of the city by the Danes two hundred years earlier.* That fact might otherwise have been passed by; but it was needful to put it on record to explain the state of things which the Red King found in Lugubalia and the coasts thereof.

No part of our fragmentary story is more thoroughly fragmentary than this, the central fact of the whole tale. The entry in the Chronicles stands by itself; we are left to connect it as we can with anything that went before, and with anything that came after. We are not told what led to this action of the Red King at this particular time; we find a certain Dolfin in possession of the land; but we are not told what he had done to lead to the attack which the King of the English made upon him; we are not even told who he was. But, from his name and from the whole circumstances of the story, we can hardly be wrong in setting him down as one of the house of the Lords of Bamburgh and Earls of Northumberland, and as the son of that Gospatric who in his youth risked his life to save Earl Tostig, and who afterwards himself ruled for a while as Earl under the Conqueror, but who had in the end to find shelter with the Scottish King. And we can hardly be wrong in assuming that whatever Dolfin held he held as the man of Malcolm. Here then was a corner of Britain still ruled by a man of the loftiest English birth, sprung by the female line of the stock of West-Saxon kingship, but held under the supremacy of the King of the Scots. The land now becomes in one sense more English, in another less. Up to 1092 there was still an English ruler in Britain; there

* See the extract from Florence ante p. 248.

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was still a man of English blood holding an earldom, lordship, or whatever it is to be called, which so far formed a distinct State as to be no part of the immediate dominions either of the Norman or of the Scot. Here was still a ruler, who, sprung from Northumbrian earls on the one side, from West-Saxon kings on the other, might, with the minutest accuracy, be set down as an Anglo-Saxon. As long as such a ruler still reigned, there was still something like an English power in Britain twenty-six years after the Norman landed at Pevensey. But its existence as an English power implied separation from the now united English kingdom, it implied dependence on the Scottish crown. After the change which the Red King wrought at Carlisle, no man of purely English descent ever again ruled in Britain, but this sentimental loss might be looked on as counterbalanced by the reunion of the severed land with a kingdom of England which was soon again to become an English kingdom. The French-speaking founder of Carlisle made way for a king who was English in birth and speech, if not in blood, and who handed on his crown to descendants who came of the old kingly stock by the same tie of female descent as Dolfin and Gospatric themselves.* We are not told what it was that led the Red King to march with a great fyrd to Carlisle and to drive out Dolfin. Save for this expedition, the year 1092 was a year of peace. The events recorded under it are mainly ecclesiastical. Just before his march into Carlisle, the King would seem to have been at Lincoln, ready for the hallowing of Remigius' minster, a hallowing which did not come just yet.† The year before had been a busy one indeed. King William had made peace with his brother Duke Robert, and the two had dis-

* One is always tempted to forget, or rather one is always tempted to remember, that the sons of the Conqueror did come from Ælfred through their mother Matilda. But this bit of pedigree was doubtless utterly forgotten, while the descent of the sons of Henry the First from the old English stock through their mother Matilda was in everybody's memory. One lay within, the other without the range of practical politics.

† See William Rufus, i. 312.

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possessed their younger brother Henry, Ætheling, Count, and Clerk. Malcolm of Scotland had meanwhile harried Northumberland as far as Chester-le-street, and had been driven back by the Normans and English of the land. The three sons of the Conqueror, all now reconciled, had come to England together; they had all gone northwards; they had entered Malcolm's dominions; but, instead of a battle, the mediation of Robert and Eadgar had led to a treaty, and to an act of homage done by Malcolm to the King of the English. Then the brothers had quarrelled again, and Robert and Eadgar had gone away to Normandy. So much for 1091. In 1093 a Scottish embassy comes to William Rufus during his momentary fit of reformation at Gloucester. Then Malcolm is summoned to the court of his over-lord; Eadgar is sent to bring him honourably; he comes, but the capricious Rufus refuses to see him; Malcolm goes home in wrath; he invades England for the last time, and dies at Alnwick.

Here there are two years, 1091 and 1093, both full of warlike dealings between England and Scotland, but dealings broken by a treaty, a treaty followed by a year of peace as far as the two kingdoms are concerned, but in which we find these remarkable doings on the borders of the two, the driving out of Dolfin and the establishment of the English power at Carlisle. We may be sure that these events had some reference either to what went before or to what came after. One might suppose that Malcolm, like some other kings, betrayed his ally and vassal Dolfin, and that the surrender of Carlisle to William was one of the articles of the treaty agreed upon between him and the King of Scots. But if this were so, William would surely have taken possession of his new dominion on his way southwards, and would not have waited till seemingly the latter part of the next year. It is far more likely that the occupation of Carlisle was a piece of capricious aggression on the part of Rufus, an act which, whether it was or was not

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not a breach of the letter of the treaty, was sure to kindle the wrath of Malcolm to the uttermost. A King of Scots might reasonably be wrathful at the wrong done to a vassal of Scotland, and still more at the standing menace which was now set up against the Scottish kingdom itself. We cannot be certain, because it is not recorded; but we may be strongly tempted to believe that the occupation of Carlisle held a foremost place amongst the complaints which Malcolm and his embassy had to make to Rufus, and to which Rufus, when he had risen from his bed of sickness and penitence, characteristically refused to hearken.

The whole later history of Carlisle—one might say, the whole later history of England—witnesses to the importance of the step which was now taken by the Red King. The whole later relations between England and Scotland, from that day to the union of the crowns, were influenced by the presence of a great and strong English city so close to the Scottish border. The step, whatever may have been its moral aspect towards Malcolm, towards Dolfin, or towards Dolfin's subjects, was, as an act done by a King of England, for the strengthening of his kingdom, the act of a keen-sighted general and a far-sighted statesman. And William the Red, though he did not always choose to be either, could be both whenever he did choose. What became of Dolfin we know not; as concerns Dolfin's subjects, the story suggests that they could not have lost much, and that there were not very many of them to lose anything. The words of one of our best authorities, literally taken, would imply that the city was a mere uninhabited ruin. As I have already hinted, it is perhaps dangerous to press descriptions of this kind too far. Some dwelling-places of man may likely enough have still gathered round the ancient walls, more likely within than, as at Anderida, without. It is enough that Lugubalia had ceased to be a city and a fortress, and that, at the bidding of William the Red, it became both. How much, in wall and castle,

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castle, may be his work, how much may be the work of his brother, I must leave local knowledge to settle. What William wrought, Henry undoubtedly strengthened.* As for the land, as distinguished from the city, our story certainly implies that it was, to say the least, not very thickly inhabited. No part of Britain was thickly inhabited then according to modern standards; but the land of Carlisle must have seemed empty of men according to the standard of the eleventh century. To drive out those whom he found in the land, and to plant in it a colony of his own subjects, might be an act of wise policy on the Red King's part. It might even be a wise way of disposing of men who might be dangerous in other parts of the kingdom. Dissatisfied Normans, oppressed Englishmen, would be turned into loyal subjects, when they were set to guard the border city of England against the Scot. But this is not the kind of migration of which the Chronicler speaks, or at least he speaks of another kind of migration as well. The land must have really lacked inhabitants of any kind, when William found it a wise step to bring churlish folk from southern England to dwell in the land and to till it. I need not dwell on the guess, in any case a mere guess, and to my mind not a likely guess, which connects this settlement with the dispossession of English—sometimes of Norman—owners to make way for the New Forest. The important point is that the colony planted by William Rufus in the land of Carlisle, was strictly a Saxon colony. It was a Saxon colony in a land for which Briton, Angle, Scot, and Dane, had often striven, but where the Saxon was altogether a new comer. Now in all discussions on the ethnology of Cumberland this Saxon colony seems to

* Simeon (1122) is emphatic on this work: "Hoc anno rex Henricus, post festum sancti Michaelis Northymbranas intrans regiones, ab Eboraco divertit versus mare occidentale, consideraturus civitatem antiquam quæ lingua Brittonum Cairlel dicitur, quæ nunc Carleol Anglice, Latine vero Lugubalia appellatur, quam data pecunia castello et turribus præcepit muniri." Mr. Hinde remarks that the earldom of Carlisle had lately reverted to the Crown, by exchange with Earl Randolf for the earldom of Chester.

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be forgotten. Yet its coming is an undoubted fact, and perchance the fact of the eleventh century may have left some signs even in the nineteenth. I merely throw this out as a subject for local inquiry. Are there any distinctively Saxon elements to be traced within the land colonized by Rufus, that is, I would again remind every one, not all modern Cumberland and Westmoreland, but the special land of Carlisle, the old earldom, the old diocese? In the neighbouring land of Bernicia I have sometimes seemed to notice points that were distinctively Saxon. The *chesters* of that land, as opposed to the *casters* of Deira, are, if not distinctively Saxon, at least English as opposed to Danish. And I began to doubt whether it was owing to the coming of Octa and Ebussa or to what, when I heard, along the Roman wall, such names as Bellingham and Ovingham sounded with a soft *g*. Surely, I said in my heart, here are folk who are *Westsaxonibus ipsis Westsaxoniores*.

One thing we must not forget, namely, that the ecclesiastical side of Carlisle is not the work of William Rufus —we could hardly expect it to be so—but the work of Henry the First. Early in the reign of the Lion of Justice, the fallen abbey of Eadred rose again in the shape of a new priory of Austin canons, of which the King himself, if not the founder, was at least a benefactor. Here, as in many other places, from Wells to Manchester, from the tenth century to the nineteenth, the chapter or other ecclesiastieal body is older than the bishopric. Nearly thirty years after the foundation of the priory King Henry planted his English confessor Æthelwulf in the new episcopal chair of Carlisle. It was not till the next century that the unbroken succession of the Carlisle bishops begins; still Henry is none the less the founder of the See, although for many years his foundation remained vacant. And if Henry was the first to give bishops to Carlisle, Henry was also the first to give her earls. And they were bishops of Carlisle, earls of Carlisle. The limits of the land added to England by Rufus were the

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the limits of their diocese and their earldom. If Henry founded bishops and earls, it was in a city founded by Rufus that he founded them. Yes, I would say to the citizens of Carlisle, the Red King is your founder, and you cannot escape him. You might better have liked the Conqueror, to whom an old-standing blunder has assigned you. You might better have liked Ecgfrith or Æthelfrith, Cadwalla or Arthur. You might better have liked one whom a writer of the twelfth century gives you, even Divus Julius himself.* The future Dictator is, I suppose, carried thus far northward by the same kind of process which has carried Hengest, out of the narrow Kentish range which history gives him, to Stonehenge and Sprotburgh, and I know not where else besides. But the journey which Cæsar never took was taken by the king into whose body some thought that the soul of Cæsar had passed.† The Roman must be satisfied with having called Corinth and Carthage into a restored being; it was his Norman *avatar* that did the same good turn for Carlisle. You must be content that the work of calling your fallen city into a new being was the work of him who every morning got up a worse man than he lay down, and who every evening lay down a worse man than he got up.

I am near the end of my discourse, but some might think that I am still near the beginning of my subject. But I have really reached its goal. I have carried the history of Carlisle through those stages of its history which give the city its distinctive historical character, which work out what I would call its personal definition. We have seen, at Lugubalia, as in other parts of the land, the Roman city left as a city of the forsaken and independent Briton, and then pass under the rule of an English kingdom. So far Lugubalia has simply followed the rule, except so far as it

* So Orderic (917 B), in recording the taking by David, calls it "Cardulium validissimum oppidum, quod Julius Cæsar, ut dicunt, condidit."

† See William of Malmesbury, iv. 320.

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would seem to have been one of those most favoured places which passed from British to English rule without any intermediate period of desolation. The thing which forms the distinctive character of Carlisle is that its time of desolation came later, that the coming of the Danes wrought not only the overthrow of the city, but its separation from English rule. The forsaken site became part of a British kingdom, which presently bowed to an external English supremacy, but which, instead of passing under immediate English rule, became an appanage of the Scot. Then at last the land returns, if not to English rule, at least under the rule of England, and the Norman builds up again what the Dane had overthrown. But I should hardly have said "at last;" Carlisle was yet again to pass under the rule of a King of Scots, and to be again restored to the realm of England. When all the sons of the Conqueror had passed away, when the nineteen years of anarchy had come with his grandson, King David, in all zeal for his Imperial niece, cut short the kingdom of his other niece's husband, and added Carlisle, with other lands and fortresses of Northern England to the Scottish dominions. Just then subtle questions of homage were not likely to be argued, and the King of Scots doubtless held Carlisle by whatever right he held, if not Dunfermline, at least Lothian.* But what one Henry had strengthened, the next won back, and if Dunfermline and Lothian passed under the outward supremacy of the Angevin king, Carlisle again became part of his immediate kingdom. In this way the distinctive feature of the history of Carlisle, its falling away from England and its recovery by England, was really acted twice over. But the second loss, the second recovery, were but a feeble after-shadow of the first; they did not involve the destruction of the city and its calling again to renewed life. For the moment indeed the question might have been asked, whether the

* On the nature and effect of this cession, see Norman Conquest, v. 258-263.

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rule of David was not more English than the rule of Stephen, if in courtesy we look on Stephen as exercising any rule at all. Practically Carlisle, with the other parts of England which were ceded to David, obtained a happy exemption from the horrors which laid waste the rest of the kingdom, and, as soon as the kingdom had again a settled government, they again became members of the English body.

The place of Carlisle in English history is thus fully ascertained. The city has run a course of its own in the earlier times of our history; it now finally takes its place as an English city in order to discharge one special function among English cities. Carlisle has now to be, before all other spots, the bulwark of England against the Scot. So I must speak in obedience to the received rules of language; but we should ever bear in mind that warfare with the Scot hardly ever meant warfare with the true bearers of that name, allies as they so often were of the English over-lord; the truer name of the warfare of which Carlisle was for many ages the centre would be warfare, as in the old days before England had a single king, between the northern and the southern English kingdoms. One king marched from Westminster, another from Dunfermline, each at the head of armies of the English speech, strengthened, it may be, or weakened by wilder allies from the Celtic background which overshadowed both English realms alike. In this warfare the border city was ever the main object of attack and defence. The time would fail to tell how many times Carlisle was besieged by the Scottish invaders, how many times it was the trysting-place of the hosts of England. It has a strange sound when, in the year of the Great Charter, the Scottish Alexander took the city, as David had taken it before him, and how he presently did homage—for Carlisle, for Scotland, or for what?—to the French prince whom the Norman barons of England had chosen to take the place of the rebel tyrant from Anjou.

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Anjou.* But the Scottish occupation under Alexander was yet shorter than the Scottish occupation under David; two years later the Scottish king, ere he could be absolved from ecclesiastical censures, had to give up Carlisle, not to the Lord Lewis to whom he had so lately done homage, but to Lord Henry, chosen and hallowed King of England.† Through the wars of the Edwards, the name of Carlisle meets us at almost every page; it stands out specially as a spot bound by another tie to one of the spots with which at starting I compared and contrasted it. The needs of warfare and of policy caused the city of William Rufus to be many times honoured with the presence of the founder of Hull. Edward, father of parliaments, held three famous parliaments within your walls, and, as you were told three-and-twenty years ago by a voice which is now silent, the good estate of the river Thames and its traffic was discussed in this distant corner of the English kingdom.‡ From Carlisle the Hammer of the Scots set forth on his last enterprise, when the enfeebled frame of the mighty warrior and lawgiver sank beneath the weight of cares and labours beside the sands of Solway. A generation later the presence of Edward King of Scots at Carlisle may be a momentary puzzle; but the personage so described was no Scottish conqueror like David or Alexander; Edward Balliol, faithful vassal of his southern over-lord, found it convenient to make use of Carlisle as something between a court and a place of shelter.§ In the sixteenth century

* See the Chronicle of Lanercost under the year 1215, pp. 18, 19. The passage about the homage runs thus: – "Rex Scottorum in Anglia moram faciens, homagium fecit dicto Lodowico, sub ea forma quæ barones Angliæ eidem fecerant. Et tam ipse Lodowicus quam barones Angliæ, tactis sanctuariis juraverunt quod nunquam sine ipso rege Scottorum pactum pacis cum rege Angliæ inirent, quod omnino tamen non est observatum."

† *Ib.* 1217, p. 25:—"Rex Scottorum Alexander, antequam absolvi mereretur, Carliolum voluntati regalium Angliæ tradidit." "Regalium," because the King was a child.

‡ See Mr. Hartshorne on the Parliaments of Carlisle, Archæological Journal, xvi. 326.

§ See the year 1334 in the Chronicle of Lanercost, pp. 277-281. "Dominus Edwardus rex Scottæ," has to be distinguished from "David quem Scotti antea unxerant sibi in regem."

Carlisle

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Carlisle again received a Scottish sovereign; but it was a deposed queen flying from her own people. In the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century, the city was again occupied by a Scottish army; in the earlier case by a Scottish army in league with the Parliament, in the latter by a Scottish army marching in the cause of a pretender to the English crown whose claims were at least Scottish rather than English. And in this last occupation we are after so many ages brought back to a race which has been for a long while out of our sight. If most so-called Scottish armies were more truly to be called armies of Englishmen of Lothian or of converted Britons of Strathclyde, we cannot say this of the Highland host of Charles Edward. Then the true Scot—or, for aught I know, the true Pict—showed himself on English ground in his true garb—his true garb, I say, for the devices of the famous army-tailor to whom the present so-called Highland dress is said to be owing, must have come at a later date. Let some student of the antiquities of dress tell us the exact distinction between the two. If that distinction should prove to be very wide, it might save King George the Fourth, who doubtless clad himself in the more modern fashion, from Lord Macaulay's gibe that he "disguised himself in what, before the Union, was considered by nine Scotchmen out of ten as the dress of a thief."

I have rushed with somewhat headlong speed through several stirring ages. But to tell what Carlisle, after the city had put on its characteristic character, did and suffered is rather the business of other members of the section, and not of its president. For detailed notices of such points we look to local zeal and local research; my business is rather to point out what Carlisle is, to fix its place among the cities of England, to trace out what is special and distinctive in the history of the one English city which still keeps its almost unaltered British name, the city where a foreign king, the most deeply hated of his line, showed

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showed himself as the enlarger of the English kingdom, the man who, if he drove out the last separate ruler of the old English stock, drove him out only to become himself the founder of a Saxon colony, and to give England her abiding bulwark against her northern neighbour, so often her northern enemy.

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ART. XXVI. — *A Plea for the Old Names. Part III.** By MISS POWLEY, Langwathby.

Read at Carlisle, August 7th, 1882, before the Royal Archæological Institute and this Society.

THE names of places which have no history offer a fund of interest to the observer of old words and their uses in the district, and may render acceptable a few more words of appeal for them to the Society which has the opportunity of testing their fitness. It is long since Mr. Robert Ferguson pointed out the frequency of Scandinavian proper names among those of families and places as evidence, when taken with the popular speech, of a colonization of these shores which has never been recorded. As we have here no Domesday Book, or other writen authority for the older names, there may be less danger of too hasty construction in the expression of accord in these views, if experience and observation shew us such uniformity of charcter in names of the obscurest spots. When we find in places almost unvisited and unwritten of, save by the old settlers themselves, an old Norse word descriptive of the physical features of the spot, and another of ownership or association, consistent in chronology, we must believe the truth such names convey. And when we see how fast old names are wearing out, and those who remember them passing away, it would seem as if it might be a greater error if no one should record them, or venture a few words on their behalf, in the hearing of a larger audience. For this is a matter out of the way of strangers; it is connected with our dialect which they seldom hear, and which is not easily learnt. And, however well-established Mr. Ferguson's opinion among dialecticians may be, there seems a failure

* For Part I. see ante Vol. iv., p. 19; for Part II., *ibid*, p. 280.

in

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in its recognition, often by the learned, in regard to the names of our own district, of our peculiar northern antiquity of speech.

There is an old Northern word *Flow*, which many must remember as giving name to unstable boggy tracts along the Scottish Border. I have seen an old map in which the word accompanied the name of almost every parish, as if each had its portion of quicksand and quagmire, to which the word probably applied, though we only have it in names, and for a very limited extent. Mr. Dickinson says *flow* is an "extensive unsheltered peat-bog," and mentions Wedholme Flow, Bowness Flow, Solway Flow, &c. But except here, and in the wild and lonely tracts of the mining fells of Alston Moor, the word seems now not to exist as a name. It is not used, as I see Scottish writers do, in composition, as the *moss-flows*; nor anywhere in poetry or prophecy as a separate word, on this side the Border, as in the hands of Scott, with such power, in the Master of Ravenswood fulfilling his doom—

> "To stable his steed in the Kelpie's Flow,
> And his name shall be lost for evermoe." (*sic.*)

Yet it may have been given as a name of caution in the early watery days. I see in this week's papers a caution to persons trespassing in pursuit of game on Wedholme Flow for fear of legal consequences only. In my childhood there lived in this village a weird old Scotch woman of whom it was said that her father's was one of the twenty-eight tenements which were submerged "when Solway Flow came down;" and that she and the rest of her family were rescued by the neighbours, as soon as they could be drawn up through the chimney; after which Nelly ran away to England and got hired and settled. It was probably when this catastrophe required a record in print, in 1771, that the name was changed to *Moss*, as it has since been written. But there had been a battle of *Sollom Moss* in Henry

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Henry VIII.'s time, when Sir Thomas Wharton overcame a Scottish marauding party; and each word had its own associations, and those of Solway *Flow* were widely known, and not soon forgotten.* I have heard that when the first Sir James Graham of Netherby was presented at Court, on his marriage, some years after, George III., in his usual, rapid, impulsive manner, was heard to utter—"Oh! Solway Flow, Solway Flow, Solway Flow!" The parish of Burgh is always an exception with its *Marsh;* for it became historical when Edward I. died there, and required its chronicler in modern English. The name Burgh *Marsh* in speech always seemed an alien in the county, where it does not, to my knowledge, occur again, or *did not* till these advertising days, when some adjoining parishes adopt the same. In some Yorkshire parishes it appears in form of *Marske.*

Flow is only one of the northern words descriptive of the same or nearly the same spots which seem so abundant in this region. It may be that a colonization from a different coast brought variety of terms, where they seem so thickly strewn. But the suecession of swamps in the old days must have required both variation and ingenuity to avoid confusion in their sub-divisions. So we may have flow, carr, mire, moss, sump, slake, forth, and bog, often within short distance, in field names, where they have remained in the possession or management of the native people. In this parish, occupying more than three miles of the eastern border of the Eden, the repetition, yet modification and distinction, by these, other such kindred words as *holme,* which is general, and *ing,* coming in above Lazonby only, is truly remarkable—*holme* once an island, and *ing* a meadow adding to the richness of association. Ingmire, Dubmire, Bogmire, and such others occur often. Since the advertising of grazing land in local papers the preservation of

* In that part called *Solway Flow,* in the year 1771 was a memorable outburst of water, moss, gravel, sand and stone, which spread over and destroyed about 600 acres of fine level fertile ground and totally altered that part of the country. Nicolson and Burns History of Cumberland p. 473.

field

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field names is privilege for which I beg to record grateful acknowledgment, and to express a hope for its continuance; its loss to country archæological inquirers would be a discouragement only inferior to the removal of the old Parish Registers to London.

If *flow* belonged to the more liquid, or *totterbogs*, as we should say, *carr* seems usually applied to places where the deeper recesses of the old foundations have been in process of time filled up by subsidence, and from the action of rains and rivers in the deep valleys have settled down into the rich green level tract, larger or smaller, according to its surroundings, which bears the name. Every year since my advocacy of this word, in the old Norse sense only, where never one stone was found on another, I have seen an advertisement of grazing land at Botcherby. It was one of my lessons in Fieldlore. I asked a friend to visit the fields named *Old Carr*, and let me know if they were *rocky* fields; the answer was, "Quite the reverse, like the carrs nearer home." Anthony Willows I know must be those nearest the river. Many in other such places have *Willows* and *Wythes* as their name; and the two Piper Mires were doubtless the grazing land set apart for the Town Piper, when that office was thus privileged by the municipality of merrie Carlisle, as of many other cities. All quite consistent with the geology, the history, and the social arrangements of the valley and the parish (if no longer descriptive, highly suggestive.) Such marks, where larger tracts have been laid together, are too often lost in the terms *park*, *pasture*, and others of general import given by professional agents.

As the new glossaries of the English Dialect Society of the Northern Counties have *carr*, and that of Lincoln mentions many tracts bearing the name, it is to be hoped it may cease to be a stumbling block to Southrons, though it has not yet done so. We are often indebted to strangers for illustration of our own antiquities, and should be glad to communicate anything worth knowing in return. But for

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for Horne Tooke's *Diversions of Purley* we should have known nothing of the Floating Island named *car* near Hawkshead, its date, 1795, and excellent description proving it to be an upburst from the bogs, though Mr. Tooke latinized its name; and to Mr. Moncure Conway, in *Harper's Monthly* I owe the fact, wanting in my last paper, that the Floating Island is still to be seen on the little lake of Priest Pot, changing from side to side with the wind, and this proves its existence for probably a hundred years. Its willows were tall in 1795.

There is an excellent paper and etching of the Stone Circle at Gunnerkeld, near Keswick, now in Vol. IV. p. 537, of our Transactions, by Mr. Dymond. It is copied by the kindness of another Society, perhaps of different associations. So that the foot note, "The name in *local parlance* means sportman's spring," may not be so foreign to our ideas as it looks. For *we* have no such word as *Gunner* for a sportsman in Cumberland. Only in Carlisle, as applied to an artillery soldier, has the word been heard. Nor was *Keld* ever known as a dialect word, in speech or writing. It is in names of the prehistoric era that we find it, and the uncertainty of its pronunciation show how little it has been understood. *Threlkeld* is called *Threlket*, and the two Salkelds, *Saffelt*, in our rustic speech. Remarking on the frequency of this word, and *klint*, in field names, I was told by a gentleman who gave me lists from many parishes, that neither word now conveyed any idea of its meaning, as a spring and a rock, O.N. Of course, since Professor Worsaaes' visit and its consequences, the people who read have learnt it. Gunnar is one of the distinctive Scandinavian proper names given by Mr. Ferguson.* It is a not uncommon name of the Northmen, and often associated with honour. There is also Gunnershow, which may be the grave-mound of the same hero, or of some of

* Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland, p. 131.

his

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his kindred. *How* is found alternately with *Raise*, as in Lodinn-How, a grave which was opened many years ago, and found to contain a skull of enormous size.* The names Gunnerkeld, Gamelands, Goggleby, and other stone monuments in this district seem to have remained in their original simplicity of remote association, while those in another direction, of undoubted antiquity have had fanciful modern names bestowed on them which shed no light on the past, as Long Meg and her Daughters, and The Grey Yauds.

But these prehistoric circles must have been known for ages before firearms even in war were heard of. In Barbour's *Bruce* we are told that "guns or crakis of wer," as they called them, "and crests to helmets," were first seen by the Scottish in their skirmishes with Edward III. in Northumberland (1327). Froissart in the latter part of this reign describes them as common. "At the siege of St. Maloe the English had well four hundred gonnes with which they shot day and night into the Fortrysse, and agaynst it." (Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Vol. i., p. 335.)

The names of waterfalls bear the same impress. *Force* is the Old Norse word, in which sound and sense correspond, for waterfall. In the lake district we have Airey Force, Stock Gill Force, and Scale Force, modified, it is supposed, in the first case, by the northern word being added to the Celtic *airai* of the same meaning; in the second, by the name of the stream which supplies it, and *Scale** Force to have reference to the sheer descent from which the cloud of spray arises, equivalent to the name of the Staubbach in Switzerland. There is Aysgill Force in Yorkshire, and the High Force, a fine fall, in Northumberland, and may be others; but, except in these names, the word is not now heard. It might have been supposed

* Scale, O.N. to disperse.

obsolete

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obsolete in the dialect, save for an expression used in my early days, by old persons who were very observant of weather changes; when I have recalled how they spoke with certainty of rain and change of weather, for they "heard *the high force sounding*," to indicate the south wind, I suspected a stretch of imagination, for the High Force in Teesdale must be fifty miles away. But, I find, on inquiry, that the word was probably applied to a rapid and shallow portion of the Eden, southward of our village, and the *Force-Mill* three miles lower, at Great Salkeld, is named for the same reason. It may have other localities, but not far distant. Some family names, both in composition and in pronounciation, bespeak their locality, as *Wilberforce*, most appropriate name for the north. I remember a long time ago, in the ascent of Crossfell, our guide pointed out *Wilber*-nuik (nook), and *Wilber* force was as certainly another haunt of the wild boar as *Wilbert* Fell, mentioned by Mr. Goodchild in Stanemore. *Braun* is the common and deliberate pronounciation of boar. The second name of Henry *Wads*worth Longfellow proves his northern descent, as Ilkley is proud to testify. The family name of Wordsworth before his poetry, was pronounced exactly so here—Mr. *Wads*worth of Sockbridge.

The wild animals once familiar to the district have left their traces in the names. The word so universal in these counties for a ladder—*stee*, seems the distinctive term of other names besides *Cat-sty-Cam*,* the wild *cat's path* to the summit, in Mr. Ferguson's opinion. Professor Skeat's reception of this, so consistent in chronology and language, would probably be extended to *Swinsty*, *Bransty*, and *Wolsty*, all West Cumberland names, which can have no other meaning than the track of the wild swine, the boar, and the wolf, each pronounced *stee;* and there is Kid-*Sty* Pike, the kid's ladder to the peak, and Sty-barrow Crag in the lake country, The popular name for a pigsty is *swine-hull*,

* Catche de Cam, probably distorted.

and

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and *sty* in all these names is pronounced as the name of the ladder all over these counties—*stee*. So there is Wilbercleugh, somewhere, and Wolf-cleugh, Hartshope, and a hundred others of the same character, of the meaning of which no person who knows the district can doubt.

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ART. XXVII.—*On Legends and Inscriptions over Doorways of Old Houses in Cumberland and Westmorland.* By MICHAEL W. TAYLOR, M.D., Edin., F.S.A. Scot.

Read at Royal Archæological Institute at Carlisle, August 3rd, 1882.

THE entrance or gateway or doorway has ever been the part of a building which has received the largest share of architectural treatment and decoration; and it has been a very prevalent usage at all times, that over the entrance there shall have been displayed some token or distinctive indication of personality or ownership. As early as ever an ensign or emblem was borne as a mark of distinction inthe field of battle, the banner of the knight floated pendent over the front of his fortress wall, and possibly a wooden shield blazoned with his device would be hung over the gateway. The sculpturing the shield in stone was a later practice; the earliest instances are found on monumental effigies in the thirteenth century; and it was not until the import of heraldry expanded, and the significance of armorial bearings assumed a wider range, that the insignia came to be carved in stone on the castle wall.

The remains of these carved escutcheons are found abundantly on the castles and halls of Cumberland and Westmorland, but in this paper I cannot pretend to deal with the heraldic aspect of the enquiry, but will exemplify only such mottoes, epigraphs or legends, which occur outside the heraldic achievement, or appear on independent tablets by themselves.

XIII. CENTURY.

The earliest example in our district of an inscribed external mural tablet in domestic architecture, is that which is now presented over the outer gateway at Brougham Castle

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Castle, near Penrith. The inscription is in raised old English characters, and runs thus :—

This stone is about 20 inches square, with the panel sunk three inches within a chamfered frame; it is not in its original site, but was removed to this place over the outer gate, during repairs to the castle, about thirty-five years ago. It has been a contested point of discussion,* as to the date of this stone, and as to who this particular Roger was. For this reason : there were two Rogers de Clifford, and both of them made great additions to and alterations in the old Norman keep of Brougham. The first Roger, the first of the Cliffords in Westmorland, acquired the heritage by marriage with Isabella de Veteripont in 1268. It was this Roger, who in the beginning of the reign of Edward I. added the range of buttressed structures which abut on the northern aspect of the keep, and what is now the inner gateway with its groined vaulted archway. The Countess of Pembroke, in her memoirs, asserts that in her day this stone stood in the wall over this inward gate; it is almost certain that the inscription commemorates the fabric which the first Roger raised at the end of the 13th century.

XIV. CENTURY.

The second Roger, the grandson of the former, was Baron here, from the 25th of Edward III. for thirty-nine

* See paper on Brougham Castle, by the Rev. Canon Simpson, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Transactions, vol. i., p. 60.

years,

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years, and he made further extensive additions to the Castle on the south and east, and he also erected the forebuilding with decorated windows and an outer gateway, and it seems, he set over his gateway his coat of arms carved in stone. This shield is gone, but it was seen and described by Hutchinson in 1766, though the charge was probably much effaced, as he mistook the checky as representing the arms of the Vallibus or Vaux family, in consequence of the obliteration of the fesse, which divides the checky escutcheon of the Cliffords.

No doubt the usage may have obtained in this country, of setting up a stone shield carved with the device of the knight, over the entrance to his castle or hall, but if so the remains of these have disappeared, and I am not prepared with any examples of this period either of heraldic or other inscriptions.

XV. CENTURY.

But in the fifteenth century we find that the pretensions of heraldry had assumed a wonderful amplitude; its import to denote not only personality and hereditary descent, but also alliances and marriages, became extended, and the escutcheon, instead of exhibiting one coat only, as it did originally, was often impaled with a multiplicity of charges. The assumption of heraldic emblems for architectural decorative purposes progressed apace. Shields and armorial devices were imported everywhere into the details of the perpendicular period; not only externally, into the spandrels of doorways and windows and stone panelling, but in the woodwork of the roof and wainscoting and furniture of the time.

There was a curious stone found a few years ago in the wall of the tower of Hutton John, where it is still preserved. This tower is a Border Pele of probably 14th or early 15th century; it belonged to a family of the name of Hutton, who are traced back to the reign of Edward III., and who became

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SCULPTURED DOOR-HEAD SLAB,

FOUND IN

HUTTON JOHN TOWER.

ARMS.

HUTTON, HUTTON JOHN.	*Fesse between 3 Cushions, C. with fleur-de-lys.*
BARWISE, LANGRIGG.	*Chevron between 3 Bears' Heads.*

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became extinct in that of Elizabeth, when one of the co-heiresses married a Hudlestone. The stone in question is a flat slab, about 40 inches by 20 inches, and has a half round bead moulding. In one corner there is presented a shield with the arms of Hutton, a fesse between three cushions charged with a fleur-de-lys, quartering a chevron between three bear's heads, which I take to be Barwis of Langrigg. On the face of the stone there is carved a figure which represents an eagle with outspread wings and talons, with the hinder half of a fox apparently, and along the top line of the stone runs this inscription :—

Thys mayd Tomas

in Old English characters deeply carved, which present the fifteenth century style, though possibly it might be later.

On the tower of Dalston, near Carlisle, there is an inscription somewhat mutilated, with Old English letters all reversed, which has been described as* :—

John Dalston Elizabet Wiphe made ys bylding

This relegates the erection or re-building of this Pele Tower to the early part of the fifteenth century, in the reign of Henry IV.

It has been described that the arms of John Clifford and his wife were carved over the gatehouse at Appleby Castle, which would fix the date thereof about 1418; his son Thomas built the hall, chapel, and great chamber here, and

* Hutchinson Cumberland, vol. ii., p. 448, with a woodcut giving a *fac simile* illustration.

at

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at the bottom of the chapel window was this inscription :—

Ys Chapple was built by Thomas
Lord Clifford Anno Domni One Thousand 400. 54.

XVI. CENTURY.

When we come into this century, the custom of carving the family arms, often with the full external heraldic embellishments, over the hall door, was universal, and the remains of tablets of this date are of frequent occurrence. From about the middle of this century a great building epoch commenced in Cumberland and Westmorland ; there was quite a passion to extend and enlarge domestic buildings. The accommodation afforded by the gaunt grey walls of the Border Pele Tower no doubt had been felt to be insufficient, for domestic requirements, even a hundred years before ; hence we find a dining hall was added to the Pele Tower in many instances in the fifteenth century, as at Yanwath, Sockbridge, Kirkbythore, and other places. But it was in the Tudor period, and particularly during the reign of Elizabeth, that the erection of a more extended scale of domestic structures, amongst the Manor Houses in the north, became the mode.

Besides the elaborately sculptured arms over the gateway, or porch or entrance, it was very usual to carve an inscription, testifying the name of the builder and date, or a rhyming legend often quaintly expressed. Of these, I will give such examples as have come under my notice.

Amongst the earliest of these tablets is one set by Christopher Crackenthorpe in the 25th of Henry VIII., over the entrance to a goodly range of buildings, which he attached to a Border Pele of an earlier date at Newbiggin in Westmorland. The legend runs thus :—

Christopher

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Christopher · Craekanthorpe · thus · ye · me · ealle ·
Whye · in · my · tym · dyde · bylde · this · halle ·
The · yer · of · oure · lorde · who · lyst · to · se ·
A · M · fyve · hundred · thyrty · and · thyee ·

There is a fifteenth century Pele Tower in the neighbouring parish of Cliburn, which was held by a family of the name of Cliburn, since the time of Edward III. One Richard Cliburn altered the tower, and put up a range of buildings and offices inclosing three sides of a court yard, all having the character of the Elizabethan period. Over the entrance he set a stone, not, however, now in its original place, on which are carved the arms of Cliburn, three chevronels interlaced at base, quartering Kirkbride, a cross engrailed. The shield is flanked with the initials R. C., with this inscription underneath in old German letters :—

Ryehard · Glebny · thus · they · me · cawl ·
Mch · in · my · tyme · hath · bealded · ys · Hall ·
The · year · of · oure · Lord · God · who · lyst ·
Loy · to · neam · : · 1567 · :
· : · R · D · Mayson.

The last line is difficult to decipher in consequence of the weathering of the stone. But the rendering of "*Who lyst . . . for to neam*" is likely to be correct, as an index is afforded by comparing it with the ending somewhat similar of "*Who lyst to see,*" in the foregoing inscriptions at Newbiggin Hall. It seems that Richard Cliburn copied his neighbour

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neighbour Crackenthorpe, and wrote the word name, as "*neam*," in the very way it is pronounced in this country to the present day. Cliburn allowed the "*mayson*" the mild conceit of perpetuating his initials on the stone, and a very good "*mayson*" he was, as his handiwork is well executed.

One of the largest of the tower built houses in the neighbourhood of Penrith is the very imposing structure of Askham Hall, the ancient seat of the Sandfords, the lords of the manor. Here again the tower, probably late 15th century, forms the core of a number of buildings which have been grouped round it. The entrance to these is by an arched gateway. Here again you have the full achievement carved in stone, and containing the arms quarterly of Sandford, English, Crackenthorpe, and Lancaster, and underneath this inscription in capitals curiously conjoined and contracted :—

THOMAS · SANDFORD · ESQVYR.
FOR · THYS · PAYD · MEAT · AND · HYR
THE · YEAR · OF · OUR · SAVYORE
XV · HUNDRETH SEVENTY FOUR.

The cluster of old structures at Catterlen Hall, near Penrith, affords a good illustration of the changes of style and accommodation which have been successfully developed in domestic architecture. The Border Pele, with its embattled parapet and its projecting gurgoyles made to resemble cannon, probably stood alone for 150 years ; then to this, in the 16th century, were added the hall and kitchen, and again in the middle of the 17th century an imposing building, with classic features, with an external flight of steps leading to a new dining or guest chamber.

Over

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OVER THE GATEWAY,
ASKHAM HALL,
WESTMORLAND.

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Over the drip-stone of the entrance to the Elizabethan hall we find enclosed within a hood moulding a shield bearing a fesse checky betwixt six garbs, quartering a cross flory. They are the arms of the then owner Vaux and his alliance Delamore. Around the shield, within a garter, occurs this quaint legend, cut in old-fashioned Roman capitals in relief:*—

"LET MERCY AND FAITHFULNESS
NEVER GOYE FROM THEE."

Underneath is the following inscription:—

AT THIS TYME IS
ROWLANDE VAUX
LORDE OF THYS
PLACE AND BVIL
DED THIS HALL Yr
OF GOD. 1577.

Again the doorway to the later building is surmounted with a tablet ornamented with Ionic pilasters containing the armorial insignia of Richmond and the lady of the house, the heiress of Vaux (the alliance between whom had just taken place) with the date—1652.†

Underneath is the motto—

"DEO VIVENTE JUVANTE."

An example of the curious manner in which marriages

* During the latter part of this century the style of lettering these inscriptions underwent a change. Instead of the small German characters, Roman capitals came into use; with the letter A crossed at the top, and the D retaining the tail of the small German D.

† For illustration see paper by Author "On Catterlen Hall," Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, vol. i., page 330.

are

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are recorded in these inscriptions occurs at Johnby Hall. There is a shield with the arms quarterly of Musgrave, Martindale, Tilliol, and Stapleton, encircled with a garter, inscribed :—

O · GOD · GIVE · ME · VISDOM · TO · BELOVE · THE.

And underneath :—

15——83
NICOLAS MVS
GRAVE · MARET · MARGARET
TELLEL · HEYRE THOMAS
HIS · SONE · MARET ELISABET · DAC
RE · WILLM · HIS · SONNE · HERE · NO
VE · DVELL · MARRET · ISISABEL · HE
YRE · TO · MARTENDAL · TO GOD · I · PR
AYE · BE · VITH · VS · ALLVAIE ·

On the little manor house of Huthwaite Hall, in the parish of Setmurthby, there is this :—

John : Swynburn
esquire : & elisabeth
his wyfe : did make
coste of this : work
in · the · dais of ther lyfe :
Anº Dmi 1581. Anº Rr 25

On

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On the tower at Whitehall, in the parish of Allhallowes, are the Salkeld arms, and underneath :—

FRANC[ISCVS] SALKELD
EQ THOMAS SALKELD
HOC FECERVNT. 1580.

In the neighbourhood of Greystock there is a fine example of an old manor house, consisting of two embattled towers, connected together by an intervening building, containing a dining hall. The main tower is, however, in a ruinous state. It is Blencow Hall, and it was the seat of the ancient family of the Blencowes. Over the principal doorway in the courtyard there are shields bearing the arms of Blencow and Crackenthorpe, and the initials H.B., and below the curious legend which runs thus :—

QVORSVM 1590

VIVERE MORI MORI VITÆ

HENRICUS BLENCOW

The correct interpretation of this composition as it stands here, is enigmatical; it is not very obvious, and it has given rise to some disquisition in our society (see *Transactions* of Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society, Vol. i., p. 335). It so happens, however, that the motto has been re-produced elsewhere, with a slight variation. Shortly after Blencowe had made his domestic alterations, one Nicholas Williamson was engaged in building Millbeck Hall, on the shore of Bassenthwaite Lake, at Under-Skiddaw. Williamson had probably seen the legend at Blencow Hall, and appreciated, doubtless, the

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the moral sentiment of the conception. So that he adopted an echo of the adage, and set it up over his doorway, where it still exists, at Millbeck, with this variation in the latinity :—

1592. QVORSUM M·W·
VIVERE · MORI · MORI · VIVERE ·
NICHOLAVS WILLIAMSON

With this reading the meaning of the inscription becomes evident, and it may be construed as follows :—

"Whither?" ("are we going") "to live (is) to die,"
"to die (is) to live" ("eternally.")

XVII. CENTURY.

In the first quarter of this century a good deal of building still continued in these counties, as may be seen from dates inserted here and there, and also from the style and mouldings in vogue during the Jacobean period, as exhibited in stone work in chimney pieces, &c., and in the wooden panelling and wainscoting. At Crakeplace Hall, in the parish of Dean, there is a stone over the doorway with the following legend and date : —

1612
CHRISTOPHER CRAKEPLACE BVILT THE SAME
WHEN HE WAS SERVANT TO BARON ALTHAM.

But it is seldom that we find inscriptions bearing dates of the second quarter of this century. The disturbed state of country during the troublous times of Charles I. and the Commonwealth hindered engagement in works of domestic building.

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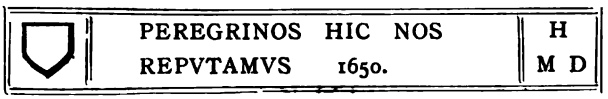
building. But after the Restoration another great era set in; and from 1650 to the year 1700, examples of inscribed dates over doorways are everywhere numerous. The carving is always in Roman capitals, and consists generally of the initial letters of the Christian names of the husband and wife, with that of the surname above and between them and, also the date. Those entitled to arms set up their shields, but not always with the external ornaments of the escutcheon, as was the prevalent custom in the preceding century. If there were a legend it was almost always now in Latin, and embodied some trite aphorism or moral sentiment.

Thus, at Greenthwaite Hall, near Greystoke, the Halton of that date put up a panel under the drip-stone of his porch with these words :—



enunciating the pious sentiment "Here we consider ourselves sojourners." Ten years after this, in 1660, Halton ventured to display carved in a tablet above this panel his full escutcheon with crest, mantling, and scroll.*

The old vicarage house at Barton, in Westmorland, has this inscription over the doorway :—

* Arms :—Party per pale, a lion rampant, quartering three bars between three mullets.

This

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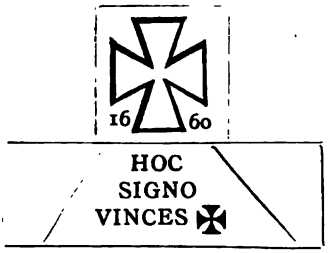
This parsonage was built by Dr. Lancelot Dawes, vicar here for forty-five years; and Bishop Nicolson, in his Visitation, refers as follows to the circumstance:—"That he might reasonably tell the world that it was designed for his successors, and not for himself, since he alwaies resided at the hall on his paternal estate, which was also chiefly of his own building." The same old vicar put up over the entrance of the hall alluded to this pious sentence:—

D
L A
NON EST HÆC REQVIES
1628

On a gable at Hutton John there is the emblem of a cross patée, with the date 1660, and the words "Hoc Signo Vinces" underneath.



The Hudleston at this time was an adherent to the old religion.

At the same place over the doorway of the "*pleasaunce*" there is a finely carved lintel, with three shields and crest, and this inscription and motto:—

ANDREAS HUDLESTON FIERIFECIT. SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA. 1662.

Over

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Over the entrance of Rottington Hall, near St. Bees, the abode of the ancient family of Sandys, there was at one time this adage :—

FELICEM TIBI DET DEVS INTROITUM.

Over the door of an old house at Eamont Bridge, within a panel on raised letters, the following is displayed :—

OMNE. SOLVM. FOR
TI PATRIA. EST.
H P. 1671

This is a quotation from Ovid.*

The motto, "Fear God," seems to have been not unusual; it occurs in the following way over the doorway of a tenement at Westnewton :—

F. V.: FEAR GOD
16 75

And, again, on a little old house in the centre of the village of Blennerhasset, in the parish of Torpenhow, it stands thus :—

GOD
J. I. N. I. 1686 FEARE

* I learn from Mr. W. Jackson, St. Bees, the following curious circumstance in connection with the above motto: — General Ludlow was one of those who signed the death warrant of Charles I., and who on the Restoration, mistrusting his safety, expatriated himself and established himself at Lausanne. Over his door he put the above Latin quotation, doubtless claiming the personal aptitude of the signification, "To the resolute man every soil is his country."

as

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as if the sculptor had lost room for the last word, and finished it on the space above.

On the old grange house of Demains, near Kirkoswald Castle, there is a panel with two lines divided thus:—

K THOMAS.	DEVS	BENET. 1622
B BARTRA	VVLT	BARTRAM F: **

This inscription is intended to be read in three perpendicular columns thus:—"Thomas Bartram and Benet Bartram made F(*ecerunt*) (this house) A.D., 1662." "God wills ("it.")

At Pelutho House, in the Abbey Holme, over the doorway there is the following parental monition. It is carved in raised capitals on the lintel, which is surmounted with a handsome hollowed dripstone.

REMEMBER · SON · WHEN · I
AM · GON · I · WAS · THE · FOVN
DER · OF · THIS · STON · FER · G
16 OD 85
FS · IS · AS · IS · D

Although the execution of the carving *in relievo* was fairly good, yet the masons at this time were not particular as to the disposal of the terminal letters of a word at the right hand end of the panel, for, on want of room, they put them above or below the line indifferently.

About the end of this century, one Robinson, a merchant in London, built and endowed a charity school for poor children in Penrith, and over the doorway of the building, which

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which is a good example of the style of the period, he thus recorded the fact that it had been built at his cost :—

EX : SVMPTIBVS : ON ·
WIL : ROBINSON CIVIS LOND ANNO
1670

The letters were at this time always cut in relief in Roman capitals. The practice in thus cutting the initials and date was universal, even in the commoner houses, not only over the doors and chimney pieces, but on all the heavy articles of finely carved oak furniture, which were made all over the country, in great profusion, during this period. The cupboards, dressers, long settles, and chairs of the best carving and workmanship, belong to this age, and these occupied not only the manor houses, but the granges, farm house hostelries, and dwellings of meaner pretensions. The best pieces are from 1660 to 1698.

But after the end of this century, the practice of carving *in relievo* the date and monogram, or a legend, over the entrance, fell into disuse in the more sumptuous houses ; and examples after 1700 occur chiefly in those of the commoner sort, and the work is altogether of an inferior description, and is cut into the stone, or in *intaglio*.

The causes of the suspension of the custom are not far to seek. After the downfall of the Stuarts, a national feeling of discomfiture crept in towards usages which pertained to that dynasty and to former times. The desire of parading the pretensions of heraldic prerogatives fell away with the decline of the practice of that art, and the architectural style of domestic buildings assumed a new model. The low mullioned window, with its graceful hood, moulded in cavetto, the doorway with its bevilled jambs, its recessed lintel,

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lintel, and moulded dripstone, were held to be vulgar and old-fashioned, and the adoption of the Italian style of frontage became the rage. The form of the enrichment of the entrance was now adverse to the display of shields, or tablets, or of lines of lettering. Voluted brackets and consols supported a classic entablature with its frieze and cornice. The pediment with the broken arch was a favourite adjunct here during the Queen Anne period. Finally, there appeared the columnar ordinance as an application to the doorway, and the projection of the pro-style portico of the Georgian era.

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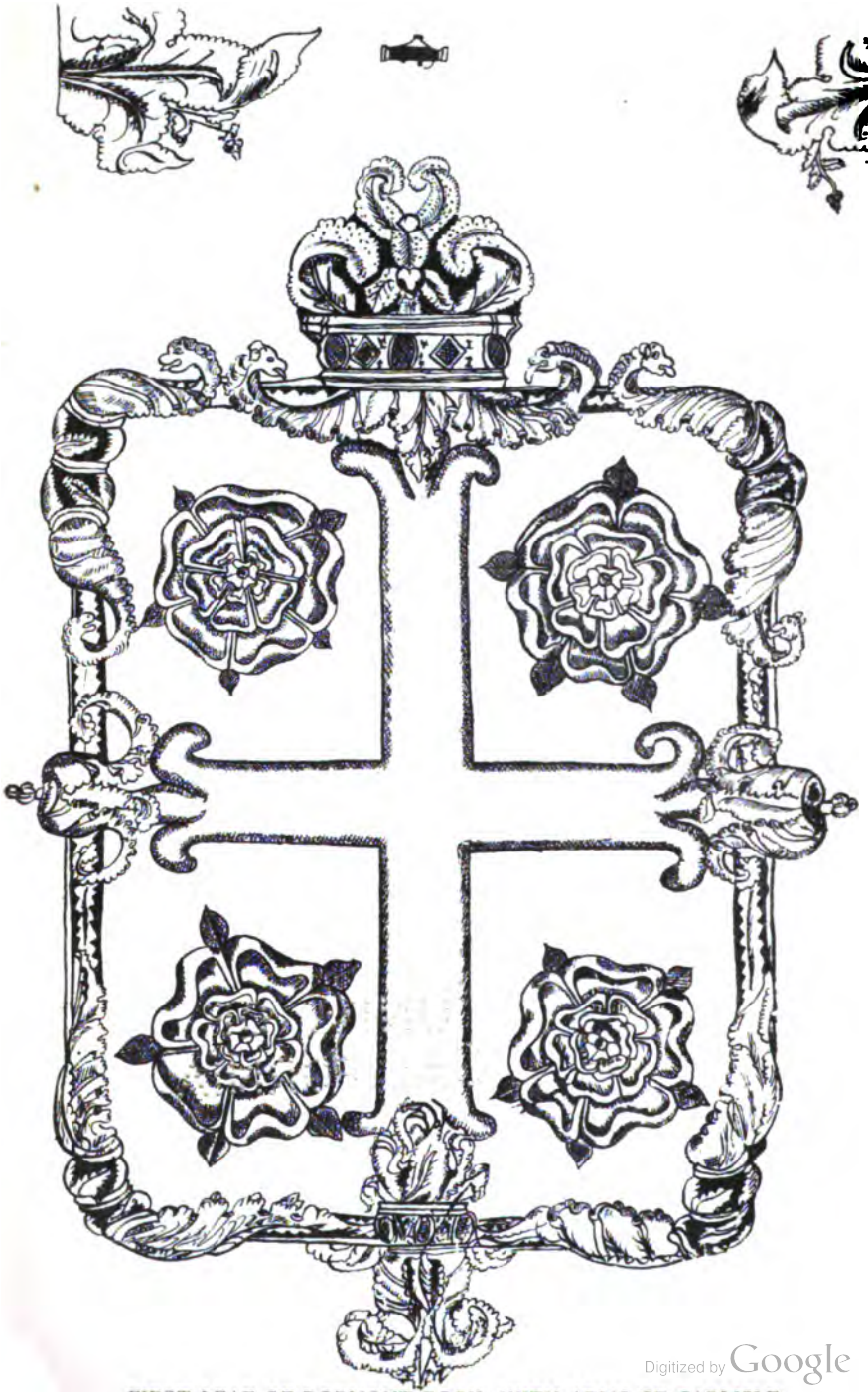

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FIRST LEAF OF DORMONT BOOK, WITH ARMS OF CARLISLE.

ART. XXVIII.—*An account of the "Dormont Book" belonging to the Corporation of Carlisle.* By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A., Mayor of Carlisle.

Read at that place August 3rd, 1882.

THIS book consists of about 300 pages of thick hand laid paper, each exactly 15 inches high by 10¾ inches broad. The mark of a jug or pot tankard shows that the paper is Dutch, manufactured in the Low Countries, and no doubt the book came to Carlisle *via* Newcastle. The sheets are sewn on three bands of stout leather, each nearly an inch broad. The binding is calf, solid leather, without any stiffening of board, and has flaps to lap round the fore-edge. It has vellum end papers, pasted down on the leather, and also loose ones as well, lined with leaves from a beautiful Roman Catholic black letter service book* with illuminated initials and coloured capitals. These leaves contain the greater part of the Psalm "Diligam te Domine" (Psalm 18th). The binding is a fine specimen of, I think, English calf binding of the 16th century, hand and blind tooled, though some of the corner ornaments may once have been gilt. The tooling has been done with a stamp or tool on a wheel, differently to the tool work of earlier date, which was done by frequent repetitions of a flat stamp or tool. The book has been at some remote period hinged and strapped with three leather bands, like a modern ledger, sewn on one side of the book with flat silk cord, on the other with flat strips of vellum. The central band, now renovated, goes round the book, and clasps with a brass hook in an oval loop. The clasp has been cut from a piece

* These books (and other objects of "superstitious use") were ordered at the Reformation to be got rid of. They were largely purchased by bookbinders, who cut them up for end papers.

of

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of stamped brass, and clasp and catch and hinges and straps all give me the idea that they are the work of a saddler. This is most likely the case. "Richard Scott, a Presbyterian shopkeeper," was the local bookseller in the time of Charles II., but I expect there was no bookbinder nearer than Newcastle for a century and a half after that date. The initials W. T. occur thrice on the upper side of the book, once in an escutcheon, twice with a knot between them. They are probably the initials of the original binder; not of the Mayor of Carlisle, as in that case they would have been followed by M.C. On the top edge of the book an ornament, now almost obliterated, has been painted in black and red, and the marks made by the artist's compass legs are still to be seen. Issuing out of the back of the book are the remains of a green and white cord, to which the City Seal was once attached, for the authentication of the ancient ordinances or bye-laws for the government of Carlisle contained in the volume. The book is in good condition for its age, but has been injured by damp and mice. It was repaired some twenty years ago, and wants a little attention now; one or two of the leaves should be backed, as has been done with the first leaves.*

On the first leaf of the book is a highly ornamented and floreated escutcheon of the city arms, a cross fleurie between four roses, all red,† the same with the arms on the Market Cross and the Town Hall. The second leaf is the title page, the centre of which is taken up by a gigantic T, six inches high, and five broad. The top forms a grassy plateau, where a huge raven sits on the top of a flower, while grotesque figures manœuvre around the sable bird. The drops of the T end in red roses. Of these two leaves we give reduced *fac similes*.

* Since done.

† The coat at present used as the arms of Carlisle is, in my belief, a time-honoured imposter, of no authority but the imagination of an ingenious map-maker. I have dealt with it elsewhere, *ante* p. 1.

The

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TITLE PAGE OF DORMONT BOOK.

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UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

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The title is as follows:—

THIS
CALLED§THE§REGESTAR§GO
VERNOR§OR§DORMONT§BOOK
OF§THE§COMMONWELTH§OF§THI
NHABITANCES§WIN§THE§CITIE
OF§CARLELL§RENEWED§IN§THE§YEAR§OF
OWR§LORD§GOD 1561.

At the top of the page are some Latin mottoes:—

1. Domine saluum fac populum tuum.
2. Vbi nullus ordo, ibi sempiternus horror.
3. Nouo malo, nouum remedium est apponendum.

The name "Dormont Book" is supposed to be a degraded form of *Liber Dominationis*—the Book containing the laws by which the City is ruled.

The first six pages of the book are occupied with the oaths of admittance to be taken by various officials, namely, the Mayor, Bailiffs, Chamberlain, Town Clerk, Sergeants, Attorneys, and Coroners, and also by a Freeman. These are in a cramped Elizabethan court hand of the date of the book, 1561. A large number of blank pages have been left, and then come the constitutions for the government of Carlisle.

At the top of the page is "Deo et virtuti summa debent." Then "Prologue," which is a moral essay on laws and concludes, "Amen. In witness whereof the Mayor and Counsale with foure of every occupacion of the said citie for and in the name of the whole citizens and inhabitants thereof have subscribed this book with their own proper hands and also annexed hereto their common seal the vi. day of July ano R. Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ et

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et Hiberniæ Reginæ fidei Defensoris &c tertio." 1561. This shows that I was right in conjecturing that the City Seal once hung to the back of the book. The constitutions are headed "Constitutions, orders, provisions, articles, and rueles, to be observed in maintenance of the Commonwelth." They occupy some 24 pages in the same cramped hand, and an index in secretary hand has been prefixed to them in 1667, probably by Town Clerk Nicholson.

The constitutions are written with wide margins, on which are explanatory marginal notes, and also additions to the context written so as to be made part of the original. The additions are in the same style of writing, but in a different hand and ink. These additions make necessary the consent in many cases of "foure of everie occupacon," and point to the old and long continued strife between the *gild-mercatory*, and the *craft gilds*: from them rose the legal difficulties, out of which sprang the "Mushroom Elections" of last century. Space forbids me from re-telling the story, or from going further into the constitutions, which I hope some day to see printed, as many are very curious.* They are signed by Thomas Pattenson, Mayor, and eleven others, one of whom is John Aglionby; also by four of each occupation or guild. In 1594 and 1609 some omissions in the By-laws are supplied. These relate to disputes as to the Town Clerkship. With these exceptions, no further entries are to be found until a much later date. After an interval of a blank page or two we find the whole Corporation on the 9th of October, 1662, from Henry Barnes, Mayor, and Sir Philip Musgrave, Alderman, down to William Knagg, George Body, and William Slagg, the Sergeants, making the following declaration:—

"I doe declare that there is no obligacon upon me or any other person from the Oath commonly called the Solemne League and

* I have transcribed them with that view: there have also been found among the Corporation papers two other copies of these "Constitutions," apparently original drafts.

Covenant,

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Covenant, and that the same was in it selfe an unlawfull oath, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Realme, against the Known Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdomme."

This declaration continued to be made by all taking civic office until 1689, and this part of the book contains some valuable autographs, *e.g.*, Thomas Denton the Recorder (appointed in 1663), John Aglionby the Royalist, Sir Philip and Sir Christopher Musgrave; the first Earl of Carlisle, Sir George Fletcher, all fine bold signatures. The appointment of James Nicholson as Town Clerk, in 1666, is also recorded, being under the 1st charter of Charles II., which required the Crown's consent to the appointment of the Recorder and the Town Clerk. These complete the entries in this part or the beginning of the book.

During the time of the Commonwealth the book has been reversed, and it is titled at its other or latter end, "The Citty Book," thus:—

1654
THE CITY OF
CARLILE

A RECORD OF ALL DEEDS

of Sale of certain free Burgage houses within the said Citty ordered to be entred in this Booke by the Maior Aldermen and Comon Counsell of the Citty aforesaid in this present yeare 1654

Only about a dozen assurances are registered under this order. All but two of them are "inrolled in this Book of Record by me Jo. Pattinson Clk of ye Court of ye Citty of Carlile" between the 23rd and 26th of January, 1654. The other two are enrolled in 1659. Alexander Dalton ssems to have been mayor in 1654. The first indenture enrolled is dated 5th March, 1652, and is between the Colonel Heveringham, who had purchased from Cromwell's Commissioners the estates of the Bishopric of Carlisle, and John Pattinson, yeoman, son of John Pattinson, late of Carlisle,

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Carlisle, Notary Public, deceased. It recites Heveringham's conveyance from the Commissioners, and conveys to Pattinson, the yeoman, the reversion of a messuage in Castlegate Street and Finkle street (possibly Mr. Mounsey's house) of which the two Pattinsons had a lease for their lives from the late Bishop Senhouse, confirmed by the late Dean White and the Chapter.

The next indenture (dated 3rd June, 1653) is between John Sykes (son of Richard Sykes, who had bought the Dean and Chapter's manor of John de Chapple from Cromwell's Commissioners) and Cuthbert Studholme, a Captain and Parliamentary Justice of the Peace at Carlisle, who afterwards came nigh to be hanged, if he was not actually so dealt with. At any rate I last heard of him in Carlisle gaol on a charge of high treason, complicity in the Kaper Rigg Plot. He buys a burgage tenement in Castlegate Street, which belonged to the "late Dean and Chapter of the late Cathedrall Church of Carlisle," and which that body had leased unto John Orbell for 40 years. The next two deeds are between John Cape of Durham and Cuthbert Studholme, who buys property in Castlegate Street between that of the late Dean and Chapter and of Queen's College, Oxford, and also "Sadler," house and shopp," which seems to be between Castlegate Street and the Bull Ring, and the Market Place, and Glover's Row, and the "Lint Shop" in Baxter's Row. This property was probably opposite the Coffee House, and pulled down and thrown into the street long ago.

By the next deed, a deed poll, Sir Francis Howard of Corby and his son and heir Francis sell to William Craister a property in Fishergate Street between that street and the city walls. Then Christopher Bell and Mabel his wife, late Mabel Nanson, sell to Peter Norman a corner in Castlegate Street, called "Windsor."

By 1656 John Sykes had sold off all the Dean and Chapter property that his father had purchased, and he and

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and his wife enroll a "Præcipe" giving a complete list, as would seem, of the purchasers of the Dean and Chapter property. I hope some day to see it printed in *extenso*. I find from it that the Corporation purchased the Abbey Mill under the City Walls; Gavin Wheelwright buys a house and garden in the Abbey, and three gardens in the same place adjoining on St. Cuthbert's Church wall; William Langshaw buys another house in the Abbey called Colthird House; Isabell and Ellen Pearson buy a third; William Elmes buys the Abbey Barn. A large amount of other property is specified in Castlegate, Fishergate, St. Alban's Row, Abbey Row, St. Cuthbert's Vennell, Wery Holme, Lowther Close, Calcoatsbanks, Donkinbank, Dalston, &c. The enrolment of a fine apparently levied to secure these purchases concludes the deeds registered in this book.

In 1672 a new use for the book seems to have occurred to the then Town Clerk, James Nicholson, viz., as a register of the indentures of apprenticeship of the future freemen; and about 800 have been registered between that date and 1844. Of late the practice has been discontinued, it having now no object. These 800 indentures form a most important mass of genealogical matter relating to the freemen of Carlisle. They should be indexed and the register of them paged.

The history of this fine book is pretty clear. Purchased prior to 1561, it was the Register Governor or Dormont Book of the Commonwealth and of the inhabitants of Carlisle. For nigh a century it was used for no other purpose than to contain the form of the oaths to be taken by the city officials, and the by-laws of the city. But during the time of the Protector it was reversed, and used as a register of deeds of title to property which had been taken from the Bishop and from the Dean and Chapter. The Corporation, after the Restoration, found two other uses for it: a register of the declarations taken against the Solemn

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Solemn League and Covenant, and a register of indenture of apprenticeship. The book is now over 300 years old, and the various purposes for which it has been used are all now obsolete. It has large store of blank leaves yet, but its work is done: its value as a record increases year by year.

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ART. XXIX.—*On the Customary Tenure at Carlisle called "Cullery Tenure."* By W. NANSON, B.A.

Read at Carlisle, August 3rd, 1882.

TO those who have had to do with the conveyance of land in the City of Carlisle the existence of the peculiar customary tenure called cullery is doubtless well known, but to others the word "cullery" must have a strange sound. In the proof sheets of our programme it appeared at first as "cutlery," and I am told that some one ingeniously conjectured that the subject of this paper had something to do with a *scullery*. It is not surprising that little or nothing should be known about it, for the usual sources of information do not help the inquirer. Neither in Hutchinson, nor in Burn and Nicolson, nor in Lysons is the word "cullery to be found, and in Jefferson's History of Carlisle it is just mentioned and no more. The particulars which I have been able to obtain I have collected from the records of the Corporation, but even from these authentic sources, though they explain to us what cullery tenure is, we can derive but little enlightenment as to its origin, and still less as to the derivation of the word. As far back as I have been able to trace it, the word is practically the same. It is spelt now with a final y, and was spelt in the same way 100 years ago. A few years earlier the y becomes ie, and in 1597, which is the earliest date under which I have met with the word, it is spelt with a final e. These minute variations of termination hardly amount to a difference in spelling, and only once have I found the word in another form, and then it appears as "coulerie."

But whatever may be its origin, cullery is the name which for nearly 300 years has been applied to customary property within the city, and is also used in speaking of the tenure

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tenure by which such property is held, and the rent which is payable in respect thereof. Without therefore attempting to speculate upon its derivation (though I hope the clue may yet be found), we may say generally that the word cullery has the same meaning as the word customary has when applied to tenure. That this is so, is shewn by the admittance to cullery tenements recorded in the Cullery Admittance Books of the Corporation, where the usual form of admittance speaks of the tenement as being held "according to the custom anciently used within the city of Carlisle called cullery tenure" by the payment of a rent described in the admittances as a "yearly customary or cullery rent."

It is rather difficult without going into legal technicalities to explain what this customary tenure is. The tenant, as lawyers say, is seised of a customary estate of inheritance commonly called tenant right, descendible as at common law, save only that (as was recently held, though I know of no previous instance) when a customary tenant dies intestate, leaving no heir male of his body, his customary tenement descends to the eldest of his daughters, instead as in the case of freehold to all his daughters as co-heiresses. This estate of the tenant which he holds of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens as the Lords of the City is subject to a fixed annual rent, a certain fine on death or alienation, and other manorial incidents common to copyhold and customary property, which at the present day are not exacted, and are of little or no practical importance.

In order to understand the nature of this tenure, let us suppose that a man has bought a house in Carlisle, which is of cullery tenure, and having paid his purchase money, has received from the vendor a conveyance of the house duly executed and attested, whereupon he enters into possession of the property. Now if the property were freehold nothing more would be required to perfect his title, but as it is of cullery tenure it is necessary that he should be admitted

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admitted to the property, and, therefore, he has to come to the Corporation, as the lords of whom the vendor held the property, and ask to be admitted to it. Formerly, no doubt, both the seller and the buyer had to appear personally before the Mayor, as the representative of the Corporation, when the seller surrendered the property to the Mayor, either verbally or by some symbolic act, and the Mayor thereupon admitted the buyer. A record of the proceeding was then entered in a book kept for the purpose, and signed by the Mayor. A copy of such entry was made at the same time; and to authenticate it, it was signed by the Mayor and sealed with his official seal. The copy was handed to the purchaser to keep with his conveyance as one of his title deeds, and he then paid a fine fixed at three times the amount of the cullery rent, and took an oath of fealty. At the present day the admittance is carried out much more simply, for the personal attendance before the Mayor of neither party is required and no oath of fealty is exacted. The conveyance is considered sufficient evidence of the sale, and from it the admittance is prepared. In other respects the same formalities are still kept up. The admittance is entered in the Cullery Admittance Book, and is signed by the Mayor. A copy is made for the tenant, which the Mayor signs and seals, and the tenant has to pay the fine and the fees of the Town Clerk as steward for making out the admittance and copy. After a tenant is once admitted he has at the present day nothing further to do in respect of the tenure of his property, except to pay to the City Treasurer the yearly cullery rent, which in many cases does not exceed a shilling, and in no case is more than 12s., so that the tenure is nearly equal to freehold. It should be mentioned here that upon the death of a cullery tenant, his heir or devisee has to be admitted to the cullery tenement in the same manner as a purchaser, except that, whereas the fine payable on alienation, either by deed or will, is treble the amount of the rent, it is only double in the case of an heir.

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The Cullery Admittance Books unfortunately do not form a continuous series nor go farther than the 17th century. The first book commences in 1673, which is the date of the first enrolled admittance, and in the beginning of the first book are the words "Liber admissionum customariorum tenentium in Carlile," the book of the admissions of the customary tenants in Carlisle. The book is not quite full, and it only goes as far as the year 1680, whereas the next book which is to be found commences in 1782, so that the admittances for upwards of 100 years are missing. From 1782 the series is complete up to the present time.

The form of the admittances varies very little, but those in the first book are in Latin, the subsequent ones being in English.

There is not much that is interesting to be extracted from such records, but here and there perhaps some useful information may be found, and for a hundred years back, at any rate, they form a complete registry of title for all the cullery property.

It is only in certain parts of the city that cullery tenure is met with, and there is no evidence that it ever existed in other parts. We have in the first book a list of the names of the cullery tenants for 1673 under the head of "Tenentes customarii secundum conseutudinem vocatam Coulerie infra dictam civitatem," but the situation of the tenements is not given, and only a few of the names occur in the subsequent admittances. At the end, however, of one of the audit books there is "A Rentall of the Rentes belonging to the Corporation of Carlisle called Cullerie Rentes as they are collected in the year one thousand seven hundred and eight," and in this list the names of the tenants are arranged according to the situation of their tenements. The property included in the list consists of "The County Gaol and Garden and the ground adjoyning," one house in Botchardgate, twelve tenements in "Alnet-well Lane," and one house in Fishergate. Then follow "Redness

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"Redness Hall in the Tenure of the eight Guilds," and "Shopps under Redness Hall;" four in number. Then we have the names of five tenants in Baxter Row, after which come six "shopps under Motehall," followed by nine "shopps under the Hall," and lastly fourteen shambles. Mixed up with these are certain other small rents, and amongst them two in respect of Kingmoor, so that it is clear either that the term cullery rents in its widest signification included any small annual rents due to the Corporation besides the rents of customary tenements in the city, or that these other rents were irregularly included merely for convenience. In a subsequent list for the year 1782 no such confusion exists. There we have under the head of "Rents due Lammas in every year," the county gaol and garden, and the house in Botchardgate, which were not cullery tenements, and then follow the Cullery Rents, under the heads of "Annetwell Street," "Finkle Lane," "Redness Hall," "Shops under the Hall," and "Shambles." It is to be observed that there is no mention of Baxter Row, which must be an accidental omission. To the last-named places with Baxter Row, I believe, what we now call cullery tenure was restricted, although, as we have seen, the term cullery rents had sometimes a wider signification than rents of cullery property, and in one of the audit books under the year 1600 appears this entry, "Item the rent of the cullerie or pettye farmes of the cittye." This and other similar expressions have led me to suppose that the word may have originally had reference to the collecting of the rents, and be derived from or be akin to the French verb *cueillir* to gather. This, however, is merely a supposition of my own.

The situation of the different cullery tenements affords, I think, a possible clue to the origin of this tenure, for it must be noticed that they are all grouped in or about the Market Place, with the exception of those in Annetwell Street and Finkle Street. The old "flesh shambles," as they

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they were called, stood in the Market Place, beyond the Cross, and about the year 1783 were brought up by the Corporation with a view to their being pulled down, which was subsequently done and new Shambles were erected between Fisher Street and Scotch Street, where they now are. Baxter's Row is also in the market place, and was once a good dealer longer than it is now, as may be seen by looking at any old map of Carlisle. Redness Hall, which is made up of cullery tenements, where the eight guilds have, or at any rate, had their different rooms on the first floor, with shops underneath, adjoins the Green Market on one side, and was probably always looked upon as a sort of public building. The shops under the Moothall or Guildhall, now generally called the Town Hall, are also part of a public building which has always been the common property of the whole body of citizens. How exactly it came to pass that the ground floor was ever divided into as many as 15 shops, which seems an extraordinary number when we consider the area covered by the present Town Hall, and how it was that these shops were held by tenants who as long as they paid their rent were virtually owners whom the Corporation had no power to turn out, and whose heirs or assigns they were obliged to admit, is a thing which has never yet been fully explained. There is every reason to believe that the shops have been held by cullery tenure for a very long period, possibly for several centuries. We know from the list of the different cullery rents in 1708 that there were cullery shops under the old Town Hall as there are under the present one, and the fact that the Corporation had no power to oust the tenants, seems to have occasioned some difficulty when it was decided to pull down the old Hall and rebuild it. On the 25th May, 1717, the Council, I find, ordered "that Mr. Mayor, and two Aldermen, and two of the Counsellmen are hereby authorized to provide a shop for Mrs. Haddock, during the time the Town Hall is in building, and if she refuse

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refuse to accept thereof, that then the workmen be directed to pull down the said Hall and rebuild it on the Corporation ground, and to acquaint her therewith," from which entry it would seem that the difficulty was got over by finding temporary shops for the tenants, and building them new shops under the new Hall, an arrangement which may have been convenient and economical at the time, but which perpetuated a most undesirable state of things, which the Corporation are now trying to put an end to by buying up the shops as opportunity offers.

The only other place, so far as I know, besides the centre of the town where cullery tenure existed was Annetwell Street and Finkle Street, and it is to be observed that all the cullery tenements were on the north side of those streets. The houses fronted to the streets and the gardens, which afterwards became the wretched courts, now happily swept away by the late improvements, ran back as far as the Castle orchard, so that these tenements must have occupied what is believed to have been the site of the vallum of the Roman Wall, and which seems at one time to have formed the boundary between the city and the area occupied by the Castle, known as the Castle-ward. All the cullery property was therefore on public ground forming originally part of the great open space in the centre of the city, or on the site of the Roman foss which ran along the north side of Annetwell Street and Finkle Street, across the narrow end of the city separating it from the castle. I can only suppose that the cullery tenements in the centre of the city must have originated in grants of small plots of public land made by the general body of the citizens to individual burgesses. At first the tenant held his plot merely for life, or a term of years, or even at will, and on the payment of a yearly ground rent which was originally no doubt the full annual value of the ground, but as time went on the tenant who had built his own house on the public land, and who had quietly and regularly paid his rent came to be regarded almost

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almost as an owner, and the rent having been once fixed remained the same though the value of money decreased, just as the fee-farm rent of the city has remained at £40 ever since the reign of Edward IV. The shops under the Town Hall, and the different rooms and shops in Redness Hall were originally, I suppose, let out in the same way, and what was once merely a tenancy, grew by degrees into tenant-right. Our records tell us what I believe was the commencement of this process, for the charter of Edward II. (1316) says, "We have also granted to them (the citizens) and by this our Charter confirmed for us and our heirs our void places (vacuas placeas) within the aforesaid City and the suburbs of the same and that they and their heirs and successors may build upon those places or demise them to others in fee or in any other manner, and that they may make their profit thereof at their will in aid of the farm aforesaid." At the date of the charter, therefore, there must have been a certain amount of void or waste land within the compass of the City walls. The greater part of the space within the walls was doubtless occupied, as the first settlers from the south increased in numbers and in wealth, by the free burgages of the citizens, which they held as tenants in chief under the Crown, but there was other land not covered by buildings or inclosed as gardens, which consisted partly of streets, partly of the open market place in the centre of the city, and partly of the old Roman foss, uneven and perhaps marshy ground, which no builder would chose to build upon, until what would now be spoken of as the more eligible building sites were taken up. When therefore at the date of the charter of Edward II. the unappropriated portions of the city area became by virtue of that charter the common property of the citizens, I conjecture that the site of the old foss was still vacant ground. We may assume that having got a grant of the open places, the "vacuas placeas" of the city, the citizens proceeded to do what their charter contemplated, and granted out to those

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those who wanted them plots of land to build upon. Some of the plots may have been granted in fee, but most of them I think it probable were demised to tenants, and became in time, by the process I have alluded to, cullery property. There is actual evidence that this was done, though on a very small scale, as lately as the beginning of the last century; but in Edward II.'s time it would be done on a much larger scale, as it would be to the interest of the citizens to make as much as they could out of their waste land, in order to pay the fee-farm rent of £80 which they found no slight burden. It would seem, indeed, that within only a few years most of the vacant spaces not required for streets or markets had been disposed of. I think this was the case, because the next charter, viz., that of Edward III. in 1353, makes no mention of vacant places in the city. In it, however, we find for the first time the expression "minutas firmas," the small rents which had been found by inquisition to belong to the citizens, and were by this charter granted and confirmed to them. Unless it can be shown that these small rents were something else, it seems reasonable to suppose that they were for the most part the cullery rents, at which the plots of vacant ground had been let out, especially when, as I have mentioned before, in 1600 we come across the expression "the rent of the Cullerie or pettye farms of the Cittye."

Whether this conjecture is right or not, it is clear that in a limited area like the city of Carlisle, with an increasing population, all the vacant ground would soon be appropriated for houses and gardens, nevertheless in comparatively modern times grants by the Corporation of small pieces of the public street were made to persons who in rebuilding or otherwise had encroached upon the public ground. In these cases it is certainly remarkable that the encroachment is always spoken of as being made on "the City waste," as if the street was still regarded as a part of the "vacuas placeas" of the charter of Edward II. The following

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following entries, which I have taken from the recently recovered Order Book of the Corporation, relate to this matter, and seem worth reading :—

ORDER BOOK 2.

Nov. 14, 1709.

Whereas, Mr. William Tate paid formerly two shillings per annum cullerie rent for his house and shop, and having made an encroachment into the City Waste by building thereon, It is hereby ordered that the said encroachment be charged with an additional rent of 3d. per annum, payable at the usual times the said Cullerie rent was payable, and that he take an Admittance for the same.

Whereas, also, John Sewell having in like manner made an encroachment upon the said City Waste by building thereon, it was also ordered that the rent of three shillings and fourpence formerly charged out of his house at Baxter Row be increased from three shillings and fourpence to three shillings and sevenpence, and that he be admitted to the same.

Whereas, also, Jeremiah Jackson having likewise made an encroachment on the said City Waste by building thereon, it was hereby also ordered that the rent of 1s. 4d. be charged on the said encroachment, and that he be admitted to the same.

And whereas, also, Wm. Young taylor made an encroachment lately on the Waste of the said City by building thereon, it was therefore ordered that the said Wm. Young's cullerie rent issuing out of the house at Baxter Row be increased from ten shillings to twelve shillings, and that he be admitted thereto.

Ordered that an Indictment be preferred at the Quarter Sessions of the City against all such persons as have encroached any on the Waste of the said city and have not compounded with the Mayor for the time being, and taken a title thereto.

Dec. 12th, 1709.

Ordered that the said Gill and Railton be desired to measure the ground which the Fraternitys of Smiths and Glovers have added to their respective Chambers, and that the said Fraternitys be called upon for the money by them agreed to be paid to the Corporation for the same, and for non-payment thereof that they be sued in the Court of the City.

27 March, 1710.

Whereas, the Fraternity of Smiths have seised and possessed themselves of a parcell of waste land under Reddness Hall to which they have

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have no right, it was therefore hereby ordered that, unless the said Fraternity of Smiths do at their next Quarter day or sooner agree with this Corporation for the Waste ground, so inclosed and taken up by them, that Mr. Rook do hereby sue the said Fraternity in such manner as he shall be advised.

8 January, 1711.

Mr. Crosby acknowledging his barn to stand partly on the City's waste ground, and that the same was an encroachment, and being willing to submit to the Corporation, and to pay yearly such rent for the said encroachment as the said Corporation shall set thereupon, it was therefore hereby ordered that a penny rent be charged upon the said Mr. Crosby for the said encroachment, to be put in the Cullery Rental or amongst the free rents.

25 March, 1713.

Ordered that three yards of the waste ground to be set out for Jas. Robinson, at the end of his house in Rickardgate, near the City Walls, to be granted to him by lease for 99 years, under the yearly reserved rent of 1s. at Lady Day yearly.

Assuming my idea of the origin of cullery tenure to be the true one, there is no reason to suppose that the tenants ever formed a distinct class of citizens in an inferior social or political position, and though to a certain extent a feudal relation subsisted between them and the general body of the citizens of which they held their tenements, it is more likely that the feudal incidents of the tenure, the fealty and the suit of Court, were annexed to it, when the citizens in imitation of other Lords of Manors began to hold Manorial Courts. There is nothing now to show whether the cullery tenants ever had a Customary Court separate from the Court Baron of the city; but as in many manors the Customary Court of the Copyholders has been merged in the Court Baron of the freeholders, or rather by common usage the name of Court Baron is given to what is really the Customary Court, it is possible that in early times the city of Carlisle had its Customary Court, at which the cullery tenants were bound to appear in person, pay their rents, and do homage to the Mayor, and at which new tenants were admitted in open court.

But

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But into the nature and constitution of the Manorial Courts of the city time forbids that I should enter now. Little has been heard of them since they were discontinued, shortly after the reformed Corporation commenced its reign, and people seem almost to have forgotten that the city of Carlisle is a manor of which the Corporation are the Lords, being described in old deeds of freehold property as the capital lords of the fee. The manorial history of the city has, however, owing to a recent claim put forward on behalf of the Crown, become a matter of practical importance, and will soon have to be thoroughly investigated, In such a history the incidents and the origin of the customary tenure of the city will form an important chapter; and for this reason, and because cullery tenure is fast passing away, I have ventured to call attention to it. Its extinction is now merely a question of time, for when a cullery tenement is purchased by the Corporation and surrendered to them, the customary estate of the tenant merges by operation of law in the freehold estate which has all along been vested in the Corporation as the Lords. This is a process which is being rapidly accomplished. The old Shambles were bought up in the last century, and now the improvement of Annetwell Street has extinguished the cullery tenants there. The Corporation already own nearly the whole of Baxter Row, and are bent on acquiring all the shops under the Town Hall. Redness Hall, which, though much modernized, still remains as a solitary example within the secular part of the city of mediæval domestic architecture, owes as I believe its preservation to the fact that being an assemblage of cullery tenants the owners could never combine to pull it down. But even Redness Hall will some day have to give place to a less quaint but more commodious building, and then supposing the contemplated widening of Finkle Street to have been carried out, the last of the cullery tenements will have been swept away. For its own sake cullery tenure is certainly not worth

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worth preserving, and we may see it vanish without regret, but as it has lasted so long as a peculiar institution of the city, and as the records of its history are stored up amongst the Corporation Muniments, I think it may claim, in spite of the somewhat legal and technical nature of the subject, at least a passing notice from those who are interested in our local archæology.

NOTE.

Since the above paper was written I have found amongst the Corporation Muniments documentary proof of the existence of a ditch near the Castle, the site of which was the property of the Mayor and Citizens. Such a ditch could only be on the north side of what is now Annetwell Street, where there were several Cullery tenements of the annual rent of one shilling, and there seems no reason to doubt that in the document given below we have the origin of one of these Cullery tenements. The document is a small parchment Indenture to which the seal of Alan Blenerhasset is attached, and forms the counterpart of a grant to him from the Mayor and Citizens of a piece of waste ground lying within the City in the ditch of the Castle, at the yearly rent of twelvepence. The grant would have attached to it the common seal of the City, and would be retained by Blenerhasset The original is in abbreviated Latin, of which the following is the full text:—

Sciant presentes et futuri nos maior et tota communitas civitatis Carlioli dedimus concessimus et hac presente carta nostra indentata confirmavimus Alano de Blenerhayset civi ejusdam civitatis unam placeam vasti sicud jacet infra dictam civitatem in fossato Carlioli juxta tenementa Amiote Moffyt ex una parte et quamdam placeam Thome del Sandes quam habet ex dono et concessione predictorum maioris et Communitatis ex altera parte habendum et tenendum predictam placeam vasti predicto Alano heredibus et assignatis suis reddendo inde nobis et successoribus nostris duodecem denarios annuatim ad festa Pasche et sancti Michaelis per equales porciones et husgabulum domino Regi sicut pro libero tenemento suo et si contingat quod predictus redditus duodecem denariorum aretro fuerit ad aliquem termum supradictum quod bene liceat nobis maiori et communitati et sucessoribus nostris in predicta placea vasti pro predicto redditu distringere et districciones retinere quousque de predicto redditu

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redditu nobis plenarie fuerit satisfactum et nos vero predictus maior et communitas et successores nostri predictam placeam vasti predicto alano heredibus et assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus imperpetuum in cujus rei testimonium huic parti carte indentate penes predictum maiorem et communitatem remanenti ego predictus Alanus sigillum meum apposui. Datum apud Carliolum in die mercurii proxima post Pentecosti Anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum Angliæ tercio decimo.

[Endorsed]

Alanus Blenerhaysett in fossa versus castrum.

It is a curious fact that in the body of the deed the plot of waste ground is described as being "in fossato *Carlioli*," which would seem to mean the City ditch outside and immediately below the walls. The endorsement however shews that the ditch referred to was over against the Castle, and a close examination has convinced me that the word "Carlioli" in the body of the deed has been written over an erasure of the word "castri."

The seal of Alan Blenerhasset appended to the deed is in good preservation and bears his arms on a chevron between three dolphins naiant embowed five ermine spots.

The legend is

"sigillum halani de bleneray. . . . "

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Drawn in facsimile by Albert Harkhorne.

INITIAL LETTER OF CHARTER OF EDWARD II. TO CARLISLE 12TH MAY. 1316.

ART. XXX. —*Notes on the Initial Letter of a Charter of Edward II. to the City Carlisle.* BY R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Read at Keswick, October 5th, 1882.

IN looking over the Royal Charters in possession of the Corporation of Carlisle, I fell in with a charming little vignette representing the siege of a walled town. It is mainly framed in the initial letter, a capital chancery E, of a charter of 9 Edward II, but two groups of figures are outside the frame. My pleasure in this trifling discovery was much enhanced on noticing that the chief of the defenders, a knightly figure in complete armour, bears on his shield the well-known arms of Sir Andrew de Harcla, thus proving that the scene depicted is his gallant defence of Carlisle in 1315 against Robert Bruce and the Scottish army.

As the vignette itself, and not De Harcla, is the subject of this paper, I shall only give a very brief account of that gallant and ill-fated soldier. He was Sheriff of Cumberland from 1 to 16 Edward II; Warden of the Marches 8 Edward II; created Earl of Carlisle in 1321, and executed on a charge of high treason in 1323. The story of his arrest in Carlisle Castle by Sir Anthony de Lucy, and of his subsequent execution on Harriby Hill near Carlisle, is told in the Chronicle of Lanercost, and from that authority I quote the following account of the siege just alluded to; I also give a translation taken from Jefferson's History of Carlisle:—

"Cito etiam postea eodem anno, in festo Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ (Jul. 22, 1315), venit rex Scotiæ, congregata tota fortitudine sua, usque Karliolum; et circumdans civitatem diebus decem eam obsedit, segites omnes conculcando, et suburbia et omnia in circuitu devastando, et totam patriam concremando, et de Allerdalia, et Couplandia, et Westmerlandia,

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merlandia, maximam praedam pecorum exercitui adducendo. Omni autem die obsidionis fecerunt insultum ad aliquam trium portarum civitatis, et aliquando ad tres portas simul, sed nunquam impune, quia mittebantur eis de muro spicula sagittæ et lapides similiter tunc et alias, in tanta multitudine et numero quod dixerunt inter se, 'nunquid multiplicantur et crescunt lapides intra muros?' Quinto autem die obsidionis erexerunt machinam unam ad lapides jaciendos juxta Ecclesiam Sanctæ Trinitatis, ubi rex eorum se collocaverat, et projicierunt continue lapides magnos versus portam de Caldeu et ad murum, sed nihil vel parum nocuerunt intus existentibus, excepto hoc, quod unum hominem occiderunt. Intra civitatem vero erant consimiles machinæ septem vel octo, exceptis instrumentis aliis bellicis, quæ vocantur Springaldes, ad longa spicula emittenda, et fundis in baculis pro lapidibus jaciendis, quæ multum terruerunt et gravaverunt exterius existentes. Interim autem erexerunt Scotti quodam magnum berefrai ad modum turris cujusdam, cujus altitudo muros villæ notabiliter excedebat; quo viso, carpentarii civitatis supra unam turrim muri, ad quam oportuit illud instrumentum venisse, si ad murum accessisset, turrim ligneam erexerunt, quæ altitudinem alterius excedebat; sed illud instrumentum (vel) aliud nunquam ad murum accessit, quia cum traheretur super rotas per terram madidam et lutosam propter ejus gravitatem ibi stetit, nec ulterius duci potuit nec gravare. Fecerant autem Scotti scalas multas et longas, quo secum adduxerunt ad simul ascendendum murum in diversis locis, et suem unam ad suffodiendum murum villæ, si possent; sed sus nec scalæ eis valebant. Fecerunt etiam de segete et de herba fasciculos in magno numero ad implendam fossam aquæ extro murum ex parta orientali, ut sic eam sicco pede transirent. Fecerunt etiam pontes longos de lignis super rotas currentes, ut fortiter et velociter tracti cum cordis possent fossæ latitudinem pertransire. Sed nec fasciculi per totam moram Scotorum ibidem potuerunt fossam implere, nec pontes illi lignei foveam pertransire, sed ceciderunt præ pondere in profundum. Nono autem die obsidionis, cum cum essent omnia instrumenta parata, dederunt insultum, generalem in omnibus portis villæ et in toto muro per circuitum, et invaserunt viriliter, et cives se æque defenderunt viriliter; et die sequenti similiter. Scotti autem ibi consimili cautela, qua castrum de Edinburgh acceperant, utebantur, fecerunt enim majorem partem exercitus sui dare insultum ex parte orientali civitatis contra locum Fratrum Minorum, ut illuc traherent populum interus existentem. Dominus vero Jacobus de Douglas, miles baldus et cautelosus, cum quibusdam aliis de exercitu qui erant audaciores et agiliores, posuerunt se ad partem occidentalem contra locum Canonicorum et Fratrum Prædicatorum, ubi, propter altitudinem et difficultatem invadendi non

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non sperabatur insultus, et ibi scalas longas erexerunt et ascenderunt eas, et sagittarios in magno numero habuerunt qui sagittas spisse jecerunt, ne aliquis ibi caput porrigeret extra murum. Sed, benedictus sit Deus! talem resistentiam invenerunt ibidem quod usque ad terram cum scalis suis sunt projecti, et ibi et alibi circa murum sunt aliqui interfecti, et alii capti, et alii vulnerati; nullus autem Anglicus in tota obsidione interfectus est praeter unum hominem percussum sagitta, excepto homine supradicto, pauci etiam fuerunt vulnerati.

Die igitur undecima, scilicet in festo sancti Petri ad Vincula (Aug. 1). vel quia audierunt de adventu Anglicorum ad amovendam obsidionem, vel quia ulterius proficere desperabant, redierunt mane Scotti in terram suam cum confusione, dimittentes retro se omnia instrumenta sua bellica supradicta. Quidam autem Anglici insequentes eos ceperunt Johannem de Moravia, qui in praedicto bello apud Strivelyn habuerat pro parte sua tres et viginti milites Angliæ, exceptis armigeris et aliis simplicioribus, et redemptionem maximam receperat pro eisdem. Ceperunt etiam cum prædicto Johanne dominum Robertum Bardolf, virum utique erga Anglicos pessimae voluntatis, et ambos ad castrum Karlioli adduxerunt, sed postea pecunia non modica sunt redempti."

"Very shortly afterwards in the same year, on the feast of S. Mary Magdalene (July 22, 1315), the King of Scotland, having gathered together all his force, came as far as Carlisle, and surrounding the city, besieged it for ten days, treading down the cornfields and laying waste the suburbs and everything around, and burning the whole country; and collected for his army all the cattle they could steal from Allerdale, Coupland, and Westmoreland.

"On every day they made an attack on some one of the three gates of the city, and sometimes on all three together; but not with impunity, for darts, arrows, and stones, as well then as at other times, were cast down upon them from the walls in so great abundance, that they questioned among themselves, whether the stones did not increase and multiply within the walls. But on the fifth day of the siege they erected an engine for casting stones near the church of the Holy Trinity (the Cathedral), where their king had placed himself, and continually threw great stones towards the Caldew gate, and at the wall, but did no injury, or but little

to

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to those within, except that they killed one man. There were, indeed, within the city, seven or eight similar engines, with other warlike instruments, called springalds, for throwing long darts; and slings in sticks, for casting stones, which greatly terrified and annoyed those who were without the city. In the meanwhile the Scots erected a great berefray, in the manner of a tower, the height of which considerably exceeded that of the walls, which being observed, the carpenters of the city erected a wooden tower, which exceeded the height of the other, upon one of the towers of the wall, towards which the engine must have approached the wall; but it never drew near to the wall, for when it was drawn upon wheels over moist and clayey ground, there it stuck by reason of its weight, nor could it be drawn any further or occasion any inconvenience.

"But the Scots applied many long ladders which they had brought with them for the purpose of ascending the wall in the same manner in different places, and a sow for undermining the wall of the city, if they found it practicable, but neither the sow nor the ladders availed them anything. They also made bundles of straw and grass in great abundance to fill up the moat without the wall, on the east side, in order to pass over it dry; they also made long wooden bridges running on wheels, that being drawn forcibly and rapidly with cords, they might be carried across the ditch; but neither would the bundles, during the whole stay of the Scotts there, fill up the moat, nor those bridges pass the ditch, but fell by their weight to the bottom.

"On the ninth day of the siege, when all the engines were ready, they made a general assault on all the gates of the town, and attacked valiantly throughout the whole circuit of the walls, and the citizens defended themselves as valiantly; and in the like manner on the following days. Moreover the Scotts employed a stratagem similar to that by which they took the Castle of Edinburgh—they caused the greater part of their army to make an assault on the eastern

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eastern part of the city, against the place of the Friars Minors (the Grey Friars), that they might draw thither the party within, but the Lord James Douglas a valiant and wary soldier, with certain of the more bold and alert of the army, posted themselves on the western side, over against the place of the Canons and Preaching Friars (the Black Friars), where, on account of the height (of the walls) and difficulty, an attack was not apprehended, and there erected long ladders which they ascended, and they had archers in great numbers, who discharged their arrows thickly lest any one should raise his head above the wall; but, blessed be the Lord, they found such a resistance there, that they were thrown to the ground with their ladders and there and elsewhere about the walls, some were taken, some slayn, and others wounded.

"Yet no Englishman was killed during the whole siege; except one man struck with an arrow, and the one above mentioned, but a few were wounded. Thereupon on the eleventh day, that is to say, on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, the Scots either because they heard of the approach of the English to raise the siege or because they despaired of making any further progress, early in the morning returned into their own lands in confusion, leaving behind them all their warlike engines above mentioned. Certain English pursuing them took John de Moray, who in the before-mentioned battle at Strivellan had for his share twenty-three English knights besides esquires, and others of lower rank, and received a great sum for their ransom; they took also with the aforesaid John, the Lord Robert Bardolf, a man certainly of the very worst disposition towards the English, and brought them both to the Castle of Carlisle."

Turning now to the vignette, the artist has presented within the frame of the initial letter, a walled town, Carlisle, and over the wall can be seen the roof and east window of the cathedral. Various turrets or towers rise from the wall,

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wall, and one lofty one rises above the frame of the initial letter; this probably is intended to represent the castle. In the left-hand corner, outside the letter, is a "machina ad lapides jaciendos." This must be the one the Scots erected on the fifth day of the siege, "juxta Ecclesiam sanctæ Trinitatis,"* that is, the cathedral. It is clear to one having local knowledge that the scene depicted is the assault on the ninth day, "contra locum Canonicorum et Fratrum prædicatorum," that is the vicinity of the Sally-port steps, where the wall would be at least thirty feet high.

The details of the drawing will bear very close examination, and I propose to draw attention to some of them.

The principal figure on the loftiest tower is Andrew de Harcla himself; he has already sent one spear through a Scot below, and is depicted in the act of hurling another. Both the spears have loops at about one-third of their length from the butt end, and Harcla, in the act of throwing the spear, grasps it with his hand, having his forefinger inserted in the loop. De Harcla wears a huge visored conical topped helm much resembling No. 75 in the Archæological Institute's Catalogue of Helmets. It is surmounted by a panache or plume of upright feathers. Mr. Planché, in his "Cyclopædia of Costumes" (*sub voce* panache) says, that prior to the reign of Henry V. panaches only appear as heraldic crests. This is an earlier instance of a panache than those given in works on heraldry, and it may either be a crest or a mere decoration. De Harcla also wears a sleeveless surcoat over a hauberk of banded mail. His sword, which has plain straight quillons hangs at his left side, the surcoat hanging over the waist belt in

* This expression puzzles me very much. The Cathedral of Carlisle is now the "Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity," but prior to the Reformation it was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The writer of the chronicle must have meant the cathedral; first of all there was no other church he could mean; secondly, near the cathedral would be the most eligible, in fact the only, place for throwing great stones against the Caldew (or Irish) gate.

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most natural folds. On his left arm De Harcla carries his shield, which is suspended from his neck by the gigue and displays a plain cross cantoning in the dexter chief point a martlet. That these are the arms of De Harcla we know from Nicholas's Roll, which gives—

"Sire Michel de Herteclaue de argent a une crois de goules. Sire Andrew de Herteclaue meisme les armes e un merelot de sable."

The martlet in this drawing is peculiar; it is not footless like those on the enamelled shield of William de Valence in Westminster Abbey (1296), but is sitting on a small twig.

Next to De Harcla is a figure in surcoat and hauberk of banded mail. His hauberk has hood, which covers his head, and above that he wears an iron hat, or *eisenhut*, of which Demmin gives several instances. In this case the hat is of an umbrella shape with spike on the top, and knobs round. The wearer is winding up one of the "Springaldes"* mentioned in the chronicles, which seems to have been a large arblaster or cross-bow, worked as usual with a *moulinet* or windlass.

Three other defenders are on towers or turrets of less altitude than that occupied by De Harcla and the "Springalde" man. One of these is lifting up a stone of, to judge by his face and attitude, great weight. A second with a coolness and imperturbility that makes me think him the town clerk, thrusts a long spear through a Scot who has climbed up a ladder, while a third with his left hand clutches the Scot by the throat, and with his right, in which is an enormous falchion, endeavours to decapitate him. All these three are clad alike in hauberks of mail and surcoats, but their head-gear is varied; the third, whose hauberk is of banded mail, wears a plain steel or iron skull-cap; the

* A tower on the west curtain wall of Carlisle long retained the name of the "Springold" tower.

second

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second a coif of mail; while the first wears some sort of hood.

The besiegers are represented by six individuals; one of them, the "forlorn hope," we may suppose, has already been mentioned, as on the top of a ladder. He meets with a warm reception from the defenders, and is falling from the ladder and apparently about to give up the ghost, but still brandishes in his right hand a huge battle-axe; his left arm hangs relaxed, but the shield has not yet fallen to the ground, but is suspended from the arm by the enarmes at the back of the shield. The shield has a bordure round it, but this has, I think, no heraldic significance; no Scottish leader was killed or wounded, and the costume is not that of one entitled to bear arms. Three more of the besiegers are at the foot of the walls; one is an archer, and is discharging an arrow at the men on the battlements; another, with a spear and uplifted shield, watches the man falling from the ladder; while a third, in the act of vigorously plying his pick, is felled to the ground by a stone, which takes him about the nape of his neck. Two besiegers and the "machina ad lapides jaciendos" form a separate group. The machine is a *trebuchet*; one of the men has laid aside his battle axe, and with a mallet is wedging a stone into the loop of the sling. The other man is transfixed by a spear hurled by De Harcla and falls off the frame of the machine, on which he has been standing; he has an arrow in his right hand and a bow in his left. The besiegers are all dressed alike, in most wretched habiliments; they wear cloaks with hoods, some sort of cloths, covering the *pudenda*, and apparently nothing else, save that their feet are encased in brogues. Lindsay of Pitscothie, whose chronicle of Scotland from 1427 to 1542 (cited by Planché) is in the vulgar tongue, says, "The other parts northorne are full of mountains and very rude and homelie kynd of people doth inhabite, which is called the Reid Shankys, or wyld Scotes. They be clothed with ane

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ane mantle, with ane schirt, fashioned after the Irisch manner, going bare legged to the knee."

We have thus eleven figures in the vignette, and, putting aside De Harcla, who is concealed by his vizored helm, there is a wonderful individuality of expression in the countenances. The whole drawing is full of life, truth, and vigour; and its fidelity to the account of the siege given in the Chronicle of Lanercost is most remarkable. Another point to be noted is, that there are no traces of pencil lines to be seen, so that the artist must have worked direct upon the parchment. He was probably on the staff of the Chancery Office, for the purpose of doing such work as we have now before us.

The charter (9 Edward II.) has no direct reference to the siege of 1315, but its preamble recites (I translate): "Know ye that for the improvement of our City of Carlisle and that the citizens of our same city may hereafter pursue their avocations in the same city under greater tranquility and peace, and may be so much the more animated to fortify and defend that city if that city were specially committed to their care, we have granted to them and by this our charter confirmed for us and our heirs the said city."

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ART. XXXI.—*S. Kentigern and his Dedications in Cumberland.* By the Rev. THOMAS LEES, M.A.

Read at Keswick, October 5th, 1882.

IN a paper read before this society at Brougham Church, on July 10th, 1879, I submitted to you my reasons for holding the opinion that S. Ninian, the founder of the great Celtic monastery of Candida Casa, on the opposite shore of the Solway, and the Apostle of the Southern Picts, had exercised his holy vocation in Cumbria. His labours here seem to have been supplemented in the last half of the fifth century by those of S. Patrick himself, also, it seems most probable, a native of the northern portion of Strathclyde, for we have, as you know, several churches on the western side of Cumberland named after Patrick's kinswoman and fellow-labourer, Bridget, and at least one, Bampton in Westmorland, after the Apostle of Ireland himself.

The intestinal strife and confusion which succeeded the Roman abdication of this district, during the fifth century, seem nearly to have extinguished what Christianity had previously existed here, till in the middle of the sixth century, Kentigern, who has been appropriately styled the Apostle of Strathclyde, appeared to revive the flame kindled by Ninian, and nourished by Patrick's disciples during that unhappy time, when law, order, and religion seemed sinking into chaos.

We derive our knowledge of Herbert of Derwentwater from the pages of Bede; but Kentigern's story must be looked for in historians of much later date. As Bishop Forbes has observed in his "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," "the greater fame of S. Columba, the apostle of the Scots, has tended in some degree to obscure that of S. Kentigern, who evangelized the Strathclyde Britons — yet it will be found

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found that this great saint not only has left traces of an extraordinary moral influence on these, but has imprinted his memorials on the public history of the inhabitants of Cumberland and Wales." The earliest life of Kentigern was composed by his disciple S. Asaph, who succeeded him as the head of the monastery of Llanelwy. This, however, is lost, except such portions of it as may be embedded in the Biography composed by Joscelin of Furness, circa A.D. 1180. This later life has been edited with a translation and most valuable notes by the late Bishop Forbes in the "Historians of Scotland," and to this volume and the Bishop's "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," I am indebted for the short sketch of the saint's mortal career which I now lay before you.

Kentigern's grandfather is asserted to have been a heathen king in Cumbria or Strathclyde; his mother, Tenew, was a believer in Christianity, but not baptised. Being found with child, as it is stated, by Eugenius or Ewen, King of Cumbria, she was, in punishment for her incontinency, according to the custom of her tribe, cast down in a chariot from the summit of a rock. Miraculously escaping, she was accused of witchcraft, and exposed in an open boat, abandoned to the waves in the open sea beyond the isle of May. She drifted to Culenros and on the shore there her son was born. S. Servanus, who was leading a hermit's life in that neighbourhood, warned by a vision, took charge of both mother and child, baptising Tenew and bringing up her son. He called the boy Kyentyern *(quod interpretatur, Capitalis Dominus), i.e.*, "head, or capital Lord;" and the boy's rapid advancement not only in secular education, but also in holiness, endeared him so much to his protector, that he used to call him, as a term of endearment, "Munghu," *i.e.*, "the dear friend." Tired out by the persecutions of his envious fellow scholars, Kentigern quitted Culros, and arriving at Carnock just in time to witness the death of Fergus, a holy hermit who dwelt

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dwelt there, attended to his burial rites. The body was placed on a wain drawn by two untamed bulls, who drew it of their own accord and without accident to Cathures, now Glasgow, and there Kentigern buried it in a disused cemetery formerly consecrated by S. Ninian. Here Kentigern took up his abode, and after some time "The king and the clergy of 'regio Cambrensis,' the great British kingdom stretching from the Clyde southwards, along with the rest of the Christians, few indeed in number, met together and besought him to be their Bishop." Overruling his scruples, and imploring the blessing of the Blessed Trinity, they enthroned him, and having summoned a Bishop from Ireland, after the manner of the Britons and Scots of that period, they compelled him to be consecrated. After his consecration he visited his extensive diocese on foot, correcting his people, the greater part of whom had apostatised from the Church, reforming abuses, and enforcing ecclesiastical discipline. But heathenism was still strong in the land, and Kentigern was persecuted by King Morken. Even after Morken's death, his relations continued the persecution, not only seeking to entrap the man of God, but conspiring against his life; so, after the pattern of S. Paul, who fled from Damascus, Kentigern fled from the country, and betook himself to S. Dewi, Bishop of Menœvia, in North Wales; and on this journey he visited this district, as you will presently hear, and collected therein a great harvest for the Lord.

Settling on the banks of the Elwy, he founded that great Monastery from which the See of S. Asaph derives its origin. Men of all ages and ranks pressed into it to the number of 965. Here he worked in peace for some years till at length the crowning mercy of the battle of Ardderyd (A.D. 573) placed a Christian king on the throne of Strathclyde. Recalled to his bishopric by the new king, Rederech Hael or the Liberal, Kentigern obeyed the call, and having appointed Asaph, his disciple, as his successor

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successor in the monastery and see, he returned to the north, accompanied by 665 monks—300 remaining in Wales with S. Asaph. For thirty years after his return to Strathclyde, Kentigern carried on his Master's work not only among the Britons, but also among the Picts. Before the close of his life, S. Columba, the great founder of the Christian colony at Iona, visited Kentigern at Glasgow. They interchanged embraces, and filled themselves with spiritual feasts before they refreshed the body. "How great," adds Joscelin, "was the sweetness of heavenly contemplation in their holy hearts is not for me to say; nor is it given to me, or to those like unto me, to search out the hidden manna, as, I think, entirely unknown, save to those who taste it." The two saints exchanged their pastoral staves; that which S. Columba gave to S. Kentigern, was long preserved in honour at Ripon, S. Wilfrid's Church.

S. Kentigern died, A.D. 603, in extreme old age—so feeble that his chin had to be held up by a linen band tied round his head. His death took place as he was being lifted from a warm bath. His body was buried, as was fitting, at the right side of the altar in his Cathedral at Glasgow. His day, according to the old Scottish Kalendars, is January 13th, the Octave of the Epiphany.

The Apostle of Strathclyde possesses few dedications in England, and those few are all in that part of modern Cumberland which lies north of the river Derwent.—Mr. J. H. Parker in his Remarks on Church Dedications in the "Calendar of the English Church," says :—"It is impossible to avoid remarking that a large number of dedications in the country prevail in certain localities or districts. These may be traced to various and obvious causes, such as the saint's birth in the neighbourhood where they occur, or from its being the scene of the labours or sanctity of the holy men or women commemorated. A striking instance of the former occurs in Cumberland, which is generally

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generally supposed to be the native county of S. Kentigern (and may have formed part of his ancient diocese), who was afterwards Bishop of Glasgow, and has eight churches named in his honour there, this dedication not occurring in any other county in England."

A passage in Joscelin's *Vita Kentigerni* seems to indicate that we must ascribe the greater part or perhaps all these dedications rather to the second cause than to the first, viz., to the fact of the saint having laboured in the evangelisation of the district. Joscelin says (cap. xxii. of Bishop Forbes' "Lives of SS. Ninian and Kentigern") that when, on account of the machinations of his pagan adversaries, the saint had for a time to quit his bishopric of Glasgow and betake himself to North Wales, in the course of his journey southwards he came to Karleolum (Carlisle), "he heard that many among the mountains were given to idolatry or ignorant of the Divine law. Thither he turned aside, and, God helping him, and confirming the word by signs following, converted to the Christian religion many from a strange belief, and others who were erroneous in the faith. O how beautiful on these mountains were the feet of him who brought good tidings of good, that published salvation, that said unto *Zion*, 'Thy God reigneth.' He remained some time in a certain thickly planted place, to confirm and comfort in the faith the men that dwelt there, where he erected a cross as a sign of the faith, whence it took the name in English of Crosfeld, *i.e.*, *Crucis Novale*. In which very locality a basilica, recently erected, is dedicated to the name of the blessed Kentigern; and to exhibit his sanctity he is not doubted to have been distinguished by many miracles."

Thus far the Monk of Furness. The Kentigern or Mungo churches are:—(1) Irthington, (2) Grinsdale, (3) Caldbeck, (4) Castlesowerby, (5) Mungrisdale, (6) Crosthwaite, (7) Bromfield, (8) Aspatria.

(1) *Irthington* lies some miles east of Carlisle on the line of

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of the Roman Wall and its companion Road, and so would be the scene of the saint's labours either on his southward flight or on his triumphant return to his northern home after the battle of Arthuret. The church retains its ancient dedication, and a strong spring of excellent water, equally abundant in dry and wet seasons, which rises in the churchyard boundary, has now the name of "How" or "Ha'" Well. This title we may conclude to be a corruption of the word "Holy," and the well itself to have served the saint as a place for preaching and baptising. A modern window, placed in the church about 1858, contains two medallions, one bearing a full length figure of Kentigern, and the other a representation of him preaching to the Britons.

(2) *Grinsdale* again is on the line of the Wall and Road. Save the dedication of the church, here too all memorial of the saint has perished. It is thought that his well may have been obliterated by the encroachments of the river Eden.

(3) *Caldbeck* I place next in order, as it seems likely that this would be the first place he would reach from Karleolum on his mission-journey to the mountaineers. Here we find him commemorated by a church and well. The well is near the churchyard, and on the banks of the Caldew. Steps to the well were formerly constructed out of the relics of an old font. The Rev. James Thwaytes, the late rector, had these restored to their proper use. A very remarkable relic connected with this church and saint was exhibited in the Museum at the meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute in Carlisle last August. It is a folio missal, after the use of Sarum—a magnificent specimen of late 14th or early 15th century illumination. At the back of the leaf on which, gorgeous in gold and colours, is the usual picture of the Crucifixion to face the Canon of the Mass, is the following inscription in black letter:—"Orate pro bono et salubri statu domini Roberti Cooke et pro

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pro anima illius tunc ab hac luce migraverit, ac etiam pro animabus parentum suorum et benefactorum qui dedit ecclesiæ parochiali de Cawlbek istud missale, calicem argenteum, Paxillum argenteum, duo pallia, unum pallium lineum et superpellicium. Anno Domini 1506." Below the Crucifixion in the dexter corner of the illumination is a shield; gules, on a chevron ermine, a lion rampant sable; and on another shield in the sinister corner; sable, a bend gules, between six mullets of six points pierced sable. As there was no office for S. Kentigern's day in any of the English "Uses," the Oratio, Secreta, Post-Communio, &c., for that saint are added in plain writing on one of the fly-leaves. These are probably taken from one of the Scottish Service Books. This glorious volume is now the property of the Benedictine establishment at Warwick Bridge, near Carlisle.

(4) *Castlesowerby*.—Continuing his journey in a south-easterly direction the next station was at Castlesowerby. Here, as in the other cases, the name of the church still remains. An ancient well, carefully cased with hewn stones, and to which there seems to have been formerly a roof, in the vicarage garden, is probably the saint's well, but has lost the name. A mile and a half away, in the parish of Greystoke, we have, I think, a most interesting memorial of our saint in a well, much visited by strangers and farmers who bring their cattle to drink of it, called "Thanet Well." His mother's name was "Thenew;" Fordun call her "Thanes," and Camerarius "Themetis" or "*Thennat*;" and the change from this last name to "Thanet" is by no means so violent as that which has converted her Church in Glasgow into "St. Enoch's"! The connection of the Earls of Thanet with this county is of far too recent a date for their name to have been attached to an ancient well, and one, too, far away from their possessions. Bishop Nicolson mentions in his visitation, A.D. 1703: "On one of the north windows there's

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a picture of a military person, in a blew mantle and long heel'd spurs, kneeling; and below it part of femal face with a crown; which last I take to relate to ye Legend of S. Mongah and Kentigern (to whom the church is dedicated), said to be begotten on a King's daughter by an angel." If the Bishop be right in his conjecture as to this glass, the knightly figure was most likely intended to represent Eugenius (or Ewan) Mungo's putative father.

(5) *Mungrisdale.*—This, I believe, to have been the saint's next halting place, for it stands at the mouth of a valley running into the very heart of Blencathra, and lies directly on his route from Castlesowerby to Crosthwaite. The little church here has never risen to the dignity of full parochial rites, being still a chapel in the parish of Greystoke. Though neither chapel nor well now retains the name of the saint, yet the place-name itself does. Its first syllable, "Mung," I believe to be an abbreviation of Mungo, and the full name to have been originally Mungogrisdale. There are other Grisedales in the district; but no one except this has a prefix which indicates a personal name. This conjecture of mine receives remarkable confirmation from the inscription on the old communion cup of the date A.D. 1600. That inscription is—"MOUNGE GRIEESDELL."

(6) *Crosthwaite.*—This, with the three churches last enumerated, stands on the roots of the great self-standing mountain group, of which Blencathra (now, alas! Saddleback) and Skiddaw are the highest peaks; and the inhabitants of these localities, then populated by aborigines as the remains on Carrock Fell and in other places amply testify, might strictly be said to be living in "*montanis.*" Those of them who were Christians had fallen back into "*ydolatrie,*" or after the Celtic fashion into Pelagianism. There can, I think, be little doubt that the place referred to in the quotation from the "Vita" as being "*condenso*"

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or thickly planted, and in Joscelin's day (circa A.D. 1180) called Crosfeld, where a church had recently been built, must be Crosthwaite (*i.e.*, the clearing or thwaite in which the cross stood), the parish church of Keswick, which still retains its ancient dedication. No well is known in the vicinity; and in this case the baptism of converts probably took place in the nearest stream. The biographer thus continues his account of S. Kentigern's labours in this district:—"Turning aside from thence, the saint directed his steps, by the sea-shore, and through all his journey scattering the seed of the divine word, gathered in a plentiful and fertile harvest unto the Lord. At length safe and sound he reached S. Dewi, and found in him greater works than had been reported by fame." The two remaining dedications are Aspatria and Bromfield. These S. Kentigern would visit on his way from Keswick to the sea-coast.

(7) *Aspatria.*—The church here is modern, but portions of the ancient structure are worked up in the new building. Inserted externally in the east wall of the chancel is a rude, time-worn bust, somewhat resembling in form a doll's head, with the inscription "Sanctus Kentigernus" beneath. A well still exists in the middle of the Glebe Field near the church, which we may reasonably conclude has formerly borne the saint's name.

(8) *Bromfield.*—Here, too, the church has been in some measure nicely restored, but one is thankful to say not rebuilt. There are many most interesting points about it, and it will well repay an antiquarian's visit. S. Kentigern's well is in a field to the north of and adjoining the churchyard. It has been carefully cleaned out, enclosed, and covered by a substantial stone circular vaulted dome on which is an inscription, by the reverential care of the present worthy vicar. The Bishop's head, with the chin supported by a cloth as in his last days, is represented in modern glass in the west window—reproduced, I am informed, from a seal in the British Museum.

Some

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Some of my hearers may perhaps wonder why I have dwelt so much on wells connected with these churches. In Eastern nations, as we learn from our Bibles, "wells of water" were considered most valuable possessions, and they were places of public resort, and regarded with a feeling of reverence. Through all their migrations westward our Aryan ancestors preserved that reverence, and the Celts retained it undiminished. It still survives in faint degree among us. In many country parishes there is a well or open spring to which children resort on some special Sunday, "shaking-bottle Sunday" as it is called, and there prepare and partake together "sugar water" or "Spanish water." In some cases a traditional form of words is used in shaking the bottle to mix the ingredients; but I never could induce any child to reveal to me the mystic formula then used. Possibly some member of this Society may be able to recall it to memory, or recover it from some one else. But to return. When S. Kentigern came to a country village he would naturally seek the place of chief public resort and preach there. This, in these early times, would be the village well. Here he would find his audience, and baptize his converts in the water. Wherever S. Kentigern preached a cross was erected; and and in after times, in many cases, a church was placed on the site of the cross. For this reason, in preparing this paper, I found it necessary in all cases to inquire for a well adjacent to the church.

In conclusion, I beg to tender my most hearty thanks to the incumbents of these ancient churches for the kind way in which they have answered my queries, and supplied me with valuable information.

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ART. XXXII.—*S. Herbert of Derwentwater.* By the Rev. THOMAS LEES, M.A.

Read at Keswick, October 5th, 1882.

AFTER reviving the fading Christianity of its former professors, and adding new converts to the Faith in this mountainous and woody district, we may, I think, conclude that Bishop Kentigern did not leave the continuation of his blessed work unthought of and uncared for. When recalled to Strathclyde from North Wales, after the final overthrow of British paganism at the battle of Ardderyd A.D. 573, he would necessarily pass, on his way to Hoddam in Dumfrieshire where he met his friend the victorious Christian King Rederech, near, if not right, through these scenes of his apostolic labours only three years before. Accompanied as he was by an immense retinue, I think we may safely believe that he would station here one of those 665 British monks who followed him from Llanelwy to minister to the needs of the Mission. However that may have been, we know that within 90 years of St. Kentigern's decease a Christian hermit dwelt on the island here—a hermit of no mean fame, but one who had the privilege of being the pupil and bosom friend of the great St. Cuthbert. All we know of S. Herbert is derived from no less an authority than the venerable Bede, who wrote within 50 years of the saint's demise (Herbert died A.D. 687, Bede died 735). Bede gives us two accounts substantially the same, one in his Ecclesiastical History, and the other in his "Book of the Life and Miracles of S. Cuthbert." From the latter of these two works, with which probably the members of this Society are not so well acquainted as with his famous history, I take the following extract, using the translation published by Dr. J. A. Giles in 1845.

"Not

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"Not very long afterwards [A.D. 686] the same servant of God, Cuthbert, was summoned to the same city of Lugubalia (now Carlisle), not only to consecrate priests, but also to bless the queen herself with his holy conversation." (This queen would be the widow of the English king Ecgfrid who had been slain in battle two years before in a raid against the Picts and Britons of the West)." Now there was a venerable priest of the name of Herebert, who had long been united to the man of God, Cuthbert, in the bond of spiritual friendship, and who leading a solitary life, in an island in the large marsh from which the Derwent arises, used to come to him every year, and receive from him admonitions in the way of eternal life. When this man heard that he was stopping in that city, he came according to his custom, desiring to be kindled up more and more by his wholesome exhortations in aspiring after heavenly things. When these two had drunk deeply of the cup of celestial wisdom, Cuthbert said, among other things—'Remember, brother Herebert, that you ask me now concerning whatever undertaking you may have in hand, and that you speak to me about it now, because, after we shall have separated, we shall see each other no more in this life. I am certain that the time of my death approaches, and the time of leaving my earthly tenement is at hand.' Upon hearing these words he threw himself at his feet with tears and lamentations, saying—'I beseech you by the Lord not to leave me, but be mindful of your companion, and pray the Almighty goodness that, as we have served him together on earth, we may at the same time pass to heaven to see his light. For I have always sought to live according to the command of your mouth; and what I have left undone through ignorance or frailty, I have equally taken care to correct, according to your pleasure.' The bishop yielded to his prayers, and immediately learnt in spirit that he had obtained that which he had sought from the Lord. 'Arise, my brother,' says he, 'and

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'and do not lament, but rejoice in gladness, for his great mercy has granted us that which we asked of him.' The event confirmed his promise and the truth of the prophecy; for their souls departed from their bodies at one and the same moment of time, and were joined together in a heavenly vision, and translated at the same time to the heavenly kingdom. But Herebert was first afflicited with a long infirmity, perhaps by a dispensation of holy piety, in order that the continual pain of a long sickness might supply what merit he had less than the blessed Cuthbert, so that being by grace made equal to his intercessor, he might be rendered worthy to depart this life at one and the same hour with him, and to be received into one and the same seat of everlasting happiness." Thus passed to their eternal rest this noble and godly pair of brethren on the night of March 20th, A.D. 686-7. Bede has left us a touching description of St. Cuthbert's last moments on the wave-beaten rocks of Farne—how the brethern there who had passed the night in watchfulness and prayer, chanced at the very moment in the order of evening service to be singing the 59th (in our version the 60th) Psalm which begins—"O Lord, Thou hast rejected us, and destroyed us; Thou hast been angry and pitied us," and how one of them instantly lighted two candles and holding one in each hand, ascended a lofty spot and signalled the saint's death to the waiting brethren of the Monastery of Lindisfarne. But we have no such chronicle of the dying moments of S. Herbert here on this lonely islet surrounded by swamp and rocks covered by the native oak. The ruins overgrown with underwood now seen in the middle of S. Herbert's Island are most probably those of the chapel built here when in the year 1374 the place became the object of a parish pilgrimage. What was the form of Herbert's cell we may safely conjecture from Bede's description of the refuge Cuthbert built for himself on Farne Island:—"The building is almost of a round form, from wall to wall

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wall about four or five poles in extent: the wall on the outside is higher than a man, but within, by excavating the rock, he made it much deeper, to prevent the eyes and the thoughts from wandering, that the mind might be wholly bent on heavenly things, and the pious inhabitant might behold nothing from his residence but the heavens above him. The wall was constructed, not of hewn stones or of brick and mortar, but of rough stones and turf, which had been taken out from the ground within. . . There were two chambers in the house, one an oratory, the other for domestic purposes. He finished the walls of them by digging round and cutting away the natural soil within and without, and formed the roof out of rough poles and straw." The house was in fact what is now called a "Pict's House" resembling those of his neighbours on the mainland.

The loving friendship of these holy men produced a long-lasting influence on the Northern mind; and nearly seven centuries after their demise Bishop Appleby (A.D. 1374) by a charter of indulgence, given at Rose, ordered that the Vicar of Crosthwaite should every year on the 13th day of April, visit the island and there celebrate a "missa de Sancto Cuthberto cum nota," and granted to all who should attend that day for the sake of devotion and in honour of S. Cuthbert, and in memory of Herbert, forty days of indulgence.

This charter is to be found on folio 74 b. of Bishop Appleby's Register at Carlisle. By the kindness of Jno. G. Mounsey, Esq., the Diocesan Registrar, I have recently inspected it and compared it with the version given in the Appendix to Nicolson and Burn's History which contains some errors. I hope to print a correct copy, with the abbreviations extended, as a supplement to this paper.

The Reverend Canon Raine in his article on S. Herbert in Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography, has pointed out the fact that the Bishop has mistaken the date of Herbert's death. The mistake seems to me to have arisen thus:—

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thus :—The 20th of March was according to the ancient classical form, "xiii Kal. Aprilis," and so appears in the Calendarium of the York Missal as S. Cuthbert's Day. The date 13th of April in the Episcopal Charter is a mistake for the 13th before the Calends of April, unless the Bishop for some reasons known to himself thought fit to separate in their obituary commemoration these two who in heart and godliness had in this life been as one.

APPENDIX.

Bishop Appleby's Charter of Indulgence.

Thomas permissione divina Karleolensis Episcopus, dilecto filio vicario de Crosthwaite, &c., dignum judicamus atque justum, ut nos, qui ex debito officii nostri testes veritatis esse tenemur, perhibeamus testimonium veritati Sane siquidem nobis nuper sacras paginas legentibus, inter cætera comperimus, venerabilem Bedam presbyterum, doctorem famosissimum, in libro suo de gestis anglorum scripsisse et testimonium perhibuisse, Herbertum presbyterum, discipulum Sancti Cuthberti fuisse, qui in insula fluvii Derwentoris vitam duxit solitariam atque sanctam ; volebat tamen sanctum Cuthbertum semel in anno annis singulis visitare, et monita salutaria ab eo recipere Contigit autem, dictum Sanctum Cuthbertum apud civitatem lugubaliam, qui nunc Carleolum nominatur, advenire quod audiens dictus herbertus, more solito ad eum accessit—cui sanctus Cuthbertus, inter cetera narravit dissolutionem sui corporis infra breve imminere ; et quod hoc fuit sibi divinitus revelatum, quod audiens dictus herbertus, ad pedes sancti antistitis cum lacrimis se projecit, deprecans eum et orans, ut a domino impetret, quod sicut ipsi in vita sua uno eodemque spiritu domino deservierunt, uno et eodem tempore ac simul, morte perveniente, ab hoc seculo transmigrarent. dictus vero antistes Cuthbertus, super cubitum suum paulisper recubans cito post se erexit, et Herberto presbytero dixit ; Frater Herberte, gaude gaudio magno, quia quod a domino petivimus impetravimus quod non diu postea fuerat adimpletum, Nam tertio decimo die Aprivium, dictus antistes in insula Pharensi, et herbertus in insula supradicta, ambo decesserunt. Et quia hoc sanctum factum plurimis, ac fere omnibus, credimus esse incognitum ; nec bonum esse videtur quod hoc homines lateat, quod dominus ad gloriam sanctorum suorum dignatus est patefacere ; Tibi mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quatenus dicto xiii ^{mo} die Aprivium

ad

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ad dictam insulam herberti accedens, et missam de Sancto Cuthberto etiam cum nota facias celebrari et has literas nostras parochianis tuis publicari · adjiciens ad hoc, quod omnibus et singulis dicto die ad locum prædictum causa devotionis, et in honorem Santi Cuthberti, et ad memoriam dicti herberti accedentibus, quadraginta dies indulgentiæ concedimus per presentes. Scriptum apud Rosam.

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ART. XXXIII.—*The Colony of German Miners at Keswick.* By J. FISHER CROSTHWAITE, F.S.A.†

Read at Keswick, October 5th, 1882.

THE first notice I have been able to find of this remarkable Colony is contained in the Calendar of State Papers relating to the mines in Newlands and the Copper Smelting Works at Keswick, edited by Robert Lemon, F.S.A. The date is the 16th of July, 1561, when Dr. Nicholas Wotton and Peter Osborne, writing to Secretary "Cecell," say :—

Have conferred with Stynbergh and the Master of Savoy, upon articles for the incorporation of a company for the working of Mines in England. Inclosing Indenture between the Queen and John Steynbergh and Thomas Thurland (Master of Savoy), for erecting a Corporation for working mines in England.

In the year 1564 September 10th, there is a—

Memorial of Thomas Thurland and Sebastian Spydell and their Company desiring their grants for working mines and minerals in England and Wales to be transferred to Daniel Hechstetter.

Then came a statement of articles contained in the Book of Privilege to be granted to Thomas Thurland, and Daniel Hechstetter, for working mines in certain parts of the realm.

Next year, March 26th, 1565, we find Thomas Thurland writing to Cecil from Keswick :—

Has received his letters with report and assay of Copper Ore. The report made by those who assayed it is incorrect.

The following month (April) Thurland and Hechstetter have a grant discharging them from all fifteenths and

† For much information on the German Mines, see a paper on "The Crosthwaite Registers." by the same writer *ante*, Vol. ii. p. 225.

other

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other impositions during the first beginning of their operations in mineral matters.

In May the same year they have found copper ore containing silver, in certain placcs in Cumberland. They request to have warrant from the Queen to bring 300 or 400 foreign workmen to work it.

In July the Queen granted Thurland and Hechstetter to fell and appropriate within her Majesty's woods sufficient timber to construct the buildings necessary for smelting all ores within certain counties. Also, to apprehend disorderly persons employed by them in the mines.

In August Thurland writes to Sir Edward Rogers, Comptroller of the Household; Sir Fr: Knollys, Vice-Chamberlain; and Sir William Cecill that he has proposed a composition wlth his creditors, and the executors of one Warde.

In September Daniel Hechstetter, Johan Louver, and Ludwig Hans write from Keswick to Cecill saying that the progress of the works are impeded for want of wood. They beg that Nedham may be dispatched to Ireland to procure it. This shows that the Ratcliff family were unfriendly to the miners. The Derwentwater estate at that time would have plenty of oak timber upon it close to where it was wanted. Probably they sided with the Earl of Northumberland in his claim to the sole right of minerals. Daniel Hechstetter complains in a letter to John Louver that the Germans are ill-treated by the English workmen, and that those who ill-treated them are protected by Lady Ratcliffe. Still the work goes on, and on the 1st of August, 1566, Thurland reports to Cecill that "a copper mine has been discovered at Newlands, the best in England."

On the 20th September "Parson Thurland" (as Secretary Cecill endorses one of his letters) writing from Rose Castle to the Secretary:—

> The smelting house, and other mineral operations are in progress, but are more chargeable than he imagined. There is plenty of copper ore in the country.

In

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In the same month Sir Thomas Gresham gave a bond in the sum of 500 crowns to John Fuggar as security for payment to John Steinberg,* for sending 20 German miners into England. In the conditions for John Steinburgh (his name is given Hans Stainbarge) to come over into England with 20 or 30 German miners skilled in minerals, to try some newly discovered mines.

October 7th. Thomas Thurland, provost of the mines, wrote from Keswick to Sir Wm. Cecill telling of the great progress of the mining works, and that smelting houses and furnaces were erected. He also reported that gold had been found on Crawford Muir. Just now the Queen commands Lord Scrope and the Justices of the Peace to repress the assaults, murders and outrages on the Almain miners. She also commands the Earl of Northumberland to offer no further obstruction to the workers of the mines and minerals at a place called Newlands in Cumberland. Any lawful claim he may have in the said minerals shall be reserved to him.

A week later the Earl of Northumberland writes to the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester, and Sir Wm. Cecill. He says he has ascertained beyond doubt that the minerals dug up in Newlands belong to him only, and that the workers thereof are trespassers on his land.

October 13th, 1566. Alderman Lionel Duckett writes to Sir William Cecill that he is about to despatch a messenger to Keswick, and urges that the inhabitants of Keswick ought to be friendly to the foreigners there. He seems to have been an active promoter of the mining operations. His family settled in the neighbourhood. The name frequently occurs in local documents. Nearly a century after, in the year 1662, W. Duckett witnessed a lease granted to Gawen Wren of the east side of Ullock Close.

* In the Crosthwaite Registers there is the burial of *Mr.* Mark Stonebarger, December 4th, 1597, who was probably a descendant.

The

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The indefatigable Master of the Savoy, Thomas Thurland, sends to Sir Wm. Cecill a plan of Keswick, the smelting house, Newlands, and other mines. He says that Denton, who was sent last year into Ireland for wood, has returned. He next writes to the Queen :—

They have at length attained to the making of fine and perfect copper; sends her a specimen.

1567, September 29th.

Keswick. Daniel Hechstetter and Hans Louver to the Queen. Can now make copper and have sent some to London. Will make trial if the copper ore contain silver and gold. Recommend that some conclusion be made between the Queen and the Earl of Northumberland.

In December of the same a year George Lamplugh petitions the council to be authorized to superintend the mineral works in the place of Mr. Thurland, and to have a grant of certain tythes, &c., in Great and Little Broughton.

June 25th, 1568. Daniel Heohstetter writes from Keswick to Cecill. He is surprised at the richness of the Kingdom in minerals. He reports progress of their works, which are opposed by Lady Ratcliffe. A preacher in their own language is much wanted amongst the workmen.

1568, September 2nd. Mr. Nedham negotiates with Mr. Curwen at Workington for a piece of ground on which to erect a wharf, and reports the difficulty of procuring coal. A lease of land at Keswick required. Mr. Lamplugh is continued in his office.

October 19th. The Earl of Northumberland writes to Cecill and requests a final answer whether he is to have a reasonable composition for the mines or not; otherwise he must assert his right and title to them. This contention was ended by a suit between the Queen and Thomas, Earl of Northumberland.

But in regard to the Queen's prerogative, there being in those mines more gold and silver than copper and lead, they were judged to be due to the Queen upon the defendant's demurrer in law.

May

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May 15th, 1580. Lionel Duckett writes to Cecill :—

Requests that the Queen would be pleased to appoint certain officers for superintendence of the copper works. Recommends Mr. Richard Dudley and Mr. Dalston.

1571, March 24th. The company of the Mines Royal to the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burleigh. Requests that the bargain for copper be completed, and also the warrant for discharge of the impost on wines.

The last entry given by Mr. Lemon is as follows :—

(The Council) to the Company of the Royal Mines in Cumberland. That Daniel Hechstetter, work master of the Royal Mines, had made trial of a process newly invented by Henry Pope for the washing of lead and copper ores, and recommends its adoption.

Mr. Daniel Hechstetter first appeared upon the scene at the close of 1564. The parish register mentions, May 14th, 1572, the baptism of a son—

Daniel Hechstetter, son of Daniel Hechstetter, Duchman, and Radigund his wife.

He had two other children born at Keswick, Elizabeth and Leonard. He died in 1581 having resided 17 years in the parish, and his widow, who died in 1610, survived him 29 years. She was buried in the church. This family flourished and married into the most respectable families in the neighbourhood, and continued to hold their position so long as the mining operations were carried on. We find them in influential positions in all parochial matters. In the Inquisition taken at Keswick relating to the High School of Crosthwaite, in 1616, it is mentioned that the

Company of the Mines Royal gave £20, and Radigunda Hechstetter forty shillings, &c., &c., for the increase of the school stock, and delivered the same to Master Daniel Hechstetter, and Emanuel Hechstetter, now deceased, (whose executor Joseph Hechstetter is) to be paid to the eighteen sworn men.

On the 8th September, 1623, one Daniel Hechstetter got a lease for four lives of the "Heads" a croft of ground being by estimation 12 acres, for himself and for the lives of

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of Samuell Hechstetter, Jonathan Hechstetter, and Radigunda Hechstetter, all of Keswick, and the longest liver of them for 20s. a year. There is a house in Keswick, next to Capt. Jackson's, near the bridge, which has thick walls and is wainscotted with beautifully carved oak, and has initials D.H., a shield having four roses in the sinister chief, and other initials I.H. which I take to be Daniel and Joyce Hechstetter. His wife's maiden name was Joyce Bankes of Keswick, and this property passed down to the present owner from one William Bankes an oppulent manufacturer. One of the family became master of the Grammar School at Carlisle. He was M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford, and Rector of Bolton, Cumberland.* Probably he was the son of Joseph Hechstetter who lived at Smelting House, Keswick.

The works were carried on by the side of Greta river as well as at Newlands, there being smelting mills at both places. The works by the Greta river extended from Calvert's Bridge to the Hammer Hole above the Forge. This is a mill race, a part of which has been cut through the solid rock and forms a tunnel. It has been cut with wedges and pick hammers, in the same manner as the levels were driven in the mines at Newlands. This mill race carried the machinery used in smelting, hammering copper plates, and sawing, &c., &c.

An indenture, dated 15th October, 1607, between Sir Francis Radcliffe of Dilston, and the Governors, Assistants and Society of the City of London, of and for the Mines Royal grants a lease of 21 years to the above mentioned parties for £63 6s. 8d.

Three acres of ground lying and about the towne of Keswick between the water of the Greta on the one side, and one certain close or ground commonly called Briggholme-close on the other side, within the manor of Castlerigg, with all and singular the edifices, buildings, and other works which were erected, builded or made upon the

Ante, Vol. ii, p. 231.

premises

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premises or thereunto belonging. And also one water course now already made in and through the grounds of the said F. Radcliffe next adjoining the said three acres, the force and head of the said water-course beginning and set and Clark Hill "loct" and so wrought downwards towards Keswick Mill.

I have extracted the foregoing from the original lease in the possession of R. Dykes Marshall, Esq., which he kindly lent me for perusal some time ago with many similar documents throwing light upon local matters of interest in past times.

In 1654 Joseph Heckstetter was foreman of the 18 school governors, and he represented the division of Great Crosthwaite. The school accounts are in his hand-writing which is an excellent hand.

About this time William Calvert is recorded as foreman, and Gyles Raisley of Windebrow follows in the same capacity. These names are constantly occurring in local documents, showing that they were of the German colony, and were amongst the more influential portion. The name of this family of Raisley first appears in our register as

Baptism 1567, May 11th of Benedictus Ritseler, son of George Ritseler, Duchman, and Margaret his wife.

The name is successively spelled Rystler, Raysing, Raysell, Raiseley of Windebrowe, which is now called Greta Bank and did belong to the late Mr. William Calvert, J.P., who probably came to it by the junction of the Raisley and Calvert family, there being two of latter named Raisley Calvert coming down to our own time.

Amongst the earliest marriages recorded was that of Hanre Moser, Duchman, and Elizabeth Clark of Newland, November 23rd, 1567. There was also Molker Moser of Smelt-house, and Percival Molker Moser of the same place. Then we have the names Symond Pughbarger of Stare, Fitzin Colizon of Smelting-house, Gesper Clocker, sometimes spelled Clowkker and lastly Clocker. Christopher Clocker

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Clocker and Jannet Stanger of Skelgill, were married in 1590.

Then we have such names as George Hedgler, Yerle Flowterer, Ulrig Staygill, Batholomew Beyrnparker, Martin Prowker, Wyllm Lipmawer, Wilford Hound, Gasper Sanninger, Andrea Torver and Aprel his wife, Georg Yorke, Steven Norspalmer, Hanre Tempp, George Tiffler, Sebastian Tibler, &c., &c.

In 1572 we have

Gasper Cayrus, son of Mitchall Kayrus, Duchman, and Agnes his wife.

In 1568 Christopher Beck, Duchman, married Esaybell Bewley, English woman.

In 1572, February 15th, Sir Peter Beck married Janet Fawsett, servant at Isle (Ile). The prefix "Sir" was probably given to him as clergyman or domestic chaplain, for in 1597 "*Master*" Peter Beck was appointed Vicar having by this time succeeded to his master's degree. He was Vicar of Crosthwaite for fifteen years.

Under Daniel Hechstetter copper smelting became very successful. In a lecture by Sir H. Hussey Vivian, Bart., M.P. for Glamorganshire, on copper smelting, at the Royal Institution, Swansea, December 1880, he shows that skilled workmen went from Keswick to South Wales in 1584 to teach the art of roasting and smelting the ore.

In the course of his lecture he says:—

In the reign of Elizabeth there was a rich copper mine at Keswick, Cumberland, of which the Queen deprived the Earl of Northumberland on the ground that it was a royal mine. It was reported that 4000 men were employed at that mine, but this is probably a great exaggeration. According to Camden, much good copper continued for a long time to be made at Keswick and Newlands, but Webster in 1671 wrote that now the work is quite left, and decayed, yet I am informed that some do now melt forth as much good copper as serveth them to make half-pennies and farthings. I beg especially to direct attention to this smelting at Keswick in Cumberland, because I think there is no doubt from the records brought to light by the the laborious and

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and intelligent researches of our fellow townsman Lieut. Col. G. G. Francis, that the first smeltimg works in South Wales was built and worked by men from Keswick. I remember well that Col. Francis announced to me before he published his letters in 1867, that he had discovered that our Welsh copper smelting process came from Germany. I at once told him, and I still retain that opinion, that such could not be the case, inasmuch as nothing amalagous to it existed in any part of Germany even down to our times. I think we were both part right. The evidence Col. Francis has discovered, puts it beyond doubt, that Germans were largely employed in the Keswick smelting, but there is no tittle of evidence that I can discover, that they brought our reverberatory process with them from Germany.

In point of date, the story begins with a patent granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1564 (p. 29) to Thomas Thurland, master of the Savoy, and Daniel Hogstetter a German, giving them power and authority to dig, search, try, sort, and melt all manner of mine stores of gold, silver, copper, and quicksilver, in Yorkshire, Lancaster, Cumberland, Westmorland, Cornwall, Devon, Gloucester, and Worcester, and the principalities of Wales, as well within her Majesty's own grounds as others, on payment of a royalty. In the same year a patent was granted to William Humfrey, and Christopher Shutes, a German, with similar powers within England, and the English pale in Ireland, except the places before granted. Under the first of these patents no doubt the working and smelting at Keswick was carried on. Seventeen years later we find a letter from Mr. George Needham to Sir Francis Walsingham setting forth in considerable detail the operations which were carried on under the directions of one Jochim Gaunse, Ganse, or Gans, for his name is spelled in these three ways. This letter is of a most interesting character and contains, I believe, distinct indications of the first introduction of the system of copper smelting which has been ever since that date so largely practised in this district, and which is now more or less adopted in almost every copper producing district in the world.

"I gather from this that the Keswick works were managed by Mr. Daniel Hogstetter and Mr. Steinberger up to 1581, when Mr. Jochim Gans went there, and that this practice had been to roast and smelt the ore, and regulus.

On 21st July, 1584, Thomas Smith writes to Ulrick Frosse saying that Mr. Weslin is going to Cornwall through Wales, and that he will take measures for transporting the copper ores to the new smeltlng house at Neath in Wales, which house I understand is ready, and we have taken order here that against he shall be ready to make copper, we shall have from Keswick one of our copper makers and

Now

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withall an under melter, and the Dutch carpenter for a time to serve and ready him in these causes.

Now this fixes the exact date of the commencement of copper smelting in South Wales, viz., the autumn 1854, and it shows that the skilled workmen came from Keswick.

I have quoted Sir H. Hussey Vivian's remarks at length because he is a great authority and stands at the head of the copper smelting industry of the world. The lecture has not been published, but it was printed in the "Cambrian newspaper," and I am indebted to our friend Mr. E. J. Grayson for drawing my attention to the matter, and sending me the extract which I have given.

It has often been a subject of speculation what became of the German miners when the works were destroyed by Cromwell's army. Nicolson and Burns say that—

Most of the miners were slain in the Civil Wars, and the works have never since been managed to any account. Vol. ii, p. 69.

Some lingered in the neighbourhood. *Z*inogle, Senogle or Sinogle constantly appear in our church books as carpenters down till 1705, when Sebastin *Z*inogle gets, for work done at the church, 2d., and in 1706 Giles Sinogle for work is paid 9d., and later still the name comes back to us from Coniston changed to Snoggles, although the better informed of the family protested against the innovation in spelling it.

This circumstance seemed to point to Coniston Mines as a place to which some might have gone from Keswick, but on referring to West's "Antiquities of Furness" I find that he says:—

During the rage of the Civil Wars the copper mines in Coniston Fells were shut up.

Still the name of Yearle, now spelled *Earle*, remains amongst us. The Becks got to Dalston and the neighbourhood of Carlisle, and there is a Norfolk family who say they are descendants of German ancestors. Senogle is

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is a most respectable name amongst the mechanics of Kendal (following the same occupation as their ancestors), and Moser amongst professional gentlemen. Cayrus lingers amongst the higher classes in North Lancashire, and the Calverts and Raisleys both flourish in East Cumberland and elsewhere.

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ART. XXXIV.—*William George Browne of Orthwaite or Allerthwaite Hall.* By WILLIAM BROWNE of Tallentire Hall.

Read at that place October 6th, 1882.

WILLIAM GEORGE BROWNE, commonly known as "the traveller," was the eldest son of George, who was the eldest son of William Browne of Orthwaite or Allerthwaite Hall, of the old family of Brownes of Wood Hall, near Hesket-new-Market, in the parish of Caldbeck. He was for some years the owner of this place.

In these days to give that title of traveller to any man sounds absurd. But we must fancy ourselves to be living here in times when the periodical visits of the carrier were the only means of communication between one place and another, and when people made their wills in anticipation of the dangers of any long journey.

I produced yesterday evening a volume, published in 1799, of his first travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from 1792 to 1798.* I now produce a seal of his, with William Browne in Arabic letters engraved on it, and the date 1226 A.H. I also produce a power of attorney, signed by him before again leaving England; and also a letter from Sir Joseph Banks to my father proving his death. That letter contains an extract from one which Sir Joseph had received from Mr. James Morier the secretary of the Persian Embassy, giving a detailed account of the discovery of Brown's mangled body. Subsequent inquiries proved that he was murdered by orders from the Persian government, from an unfounded suspicion that he was upon a mission into Tartary injurious to the Persian

* Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria from the year 1792 to 1798, by W. G. Browne. London: Published for T. Cadell, Junior, and W. Davies, Strand; and T. N. Longman and G. Rees, Paternoster Row, 1799. Quarto.

interests,

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interests. This letter and a power of attorney, given by Mr. Browne the traveller to my father and the then Mr. Spedding of Mirehouse, are the chief documents I now have in my possession.

The power of attorney speaks for itself. It is dated July 18th, 1812. He calls himself William George Browne of John Street, Adelphi, in the county of Middlesex, Esquire, "about to quit this kingdom" and to be "absent for some term." His intentions were to explore Tartary and Bochara.

It gives my father and Mr. Spedding absolute power to hold his estates, and to do everything which he himself might do for their management during his absence. But in little more than a year after this date, *i.e.*, on the 20th of August, 1883, Mr. James Morier writes from Tabriz :—

On the fourth day's march from the camp, after crossing the Kissil Ozan river, he was stopped by ten horsemen who first blindfolded his eyes, as well as those of his servants, tied their hands behind their backs, and conducted them to some distance off the road. There they kept them concealed until night, when they released the servants but carried poor Browne away with them. It was long before we were assured of what had been his fate; until, about a fortnight ago, his body, wrapt in his Turkish clothes, was found in a mangled state.

Mr. James Morier, who was not then aware of the extent to which the Persian government were implicated, concludes :—

With the villainous rabble that composes the royal camp, this unfortunate accident cannot create surprise. But to those who knew the virtues and estimable qualities of the deceased it cannot fail to roduce the most heartfelt grief and regret.

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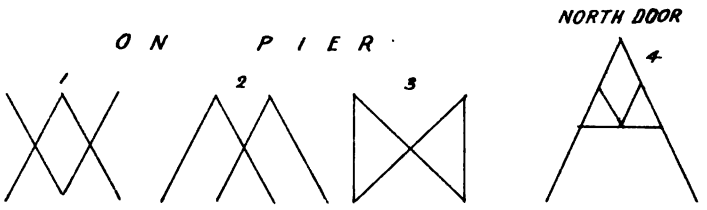
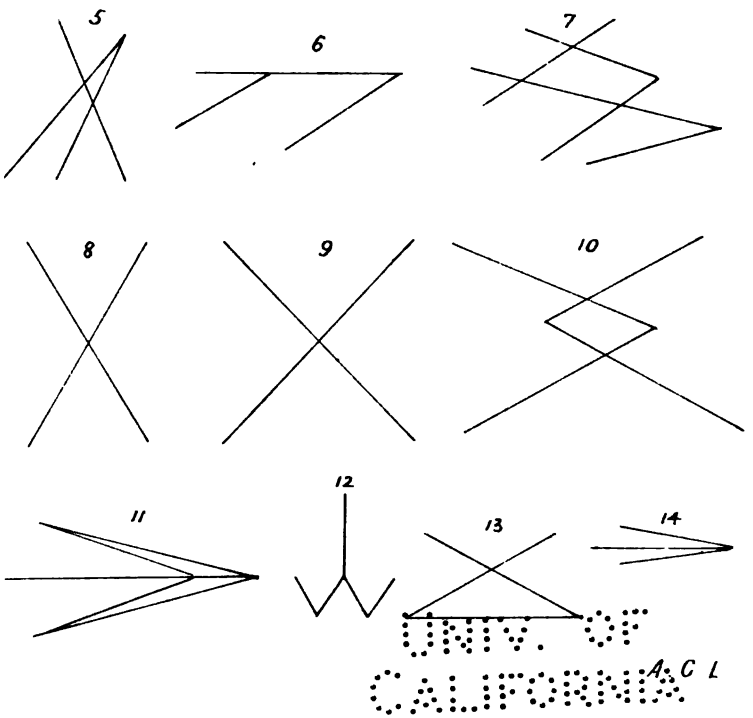
MASON'S MARKS AT CALDER ABBEY.





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MASONS' MARKS, CALDER ABBEY.

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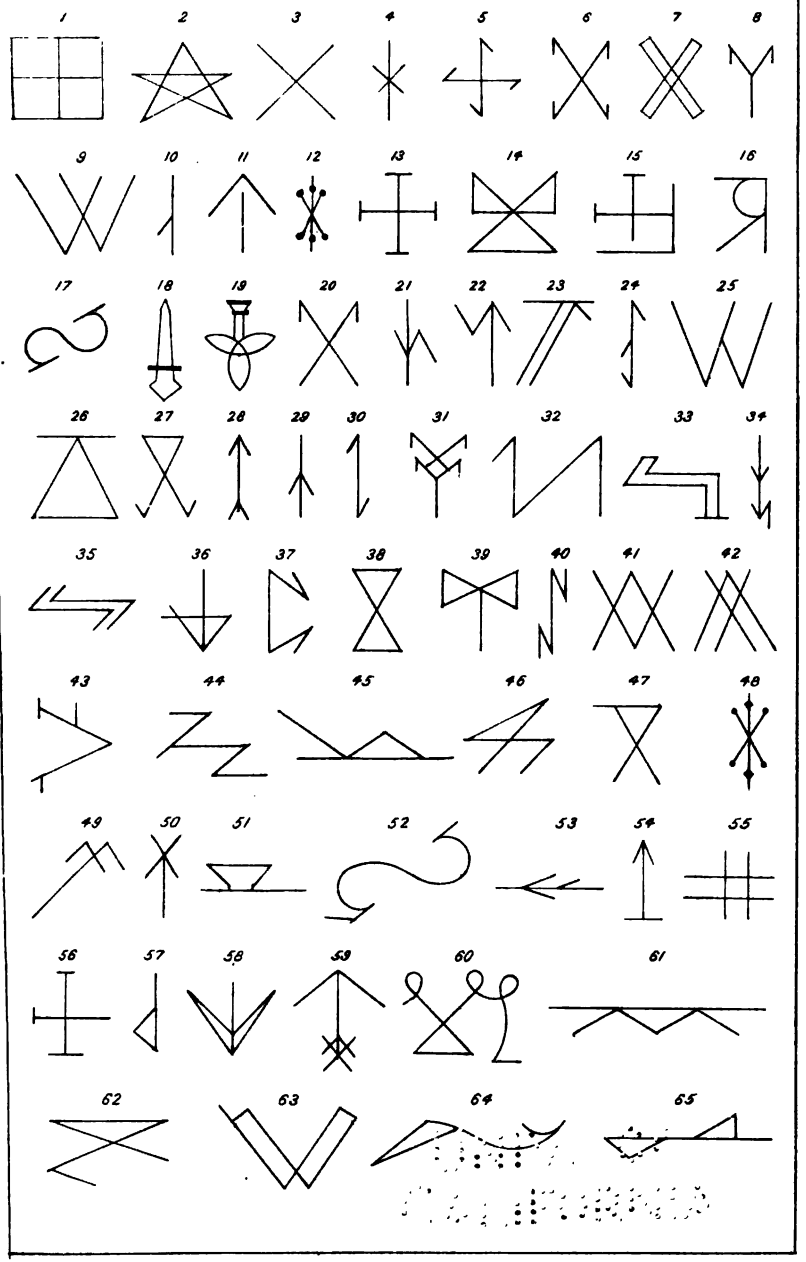

MASONS' MARKS, FURNESS ABBEY. PLATE I.

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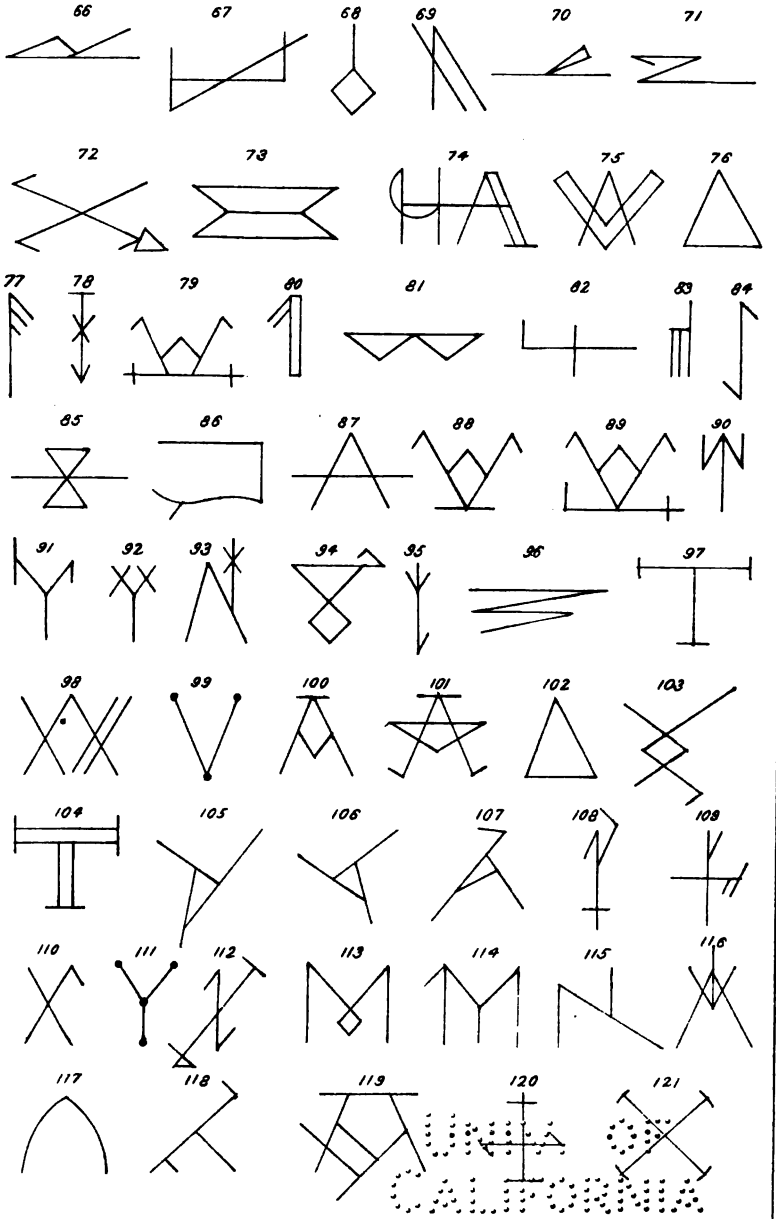

MASONS' MARKS, FURNESS ABBEY. PLATE II.

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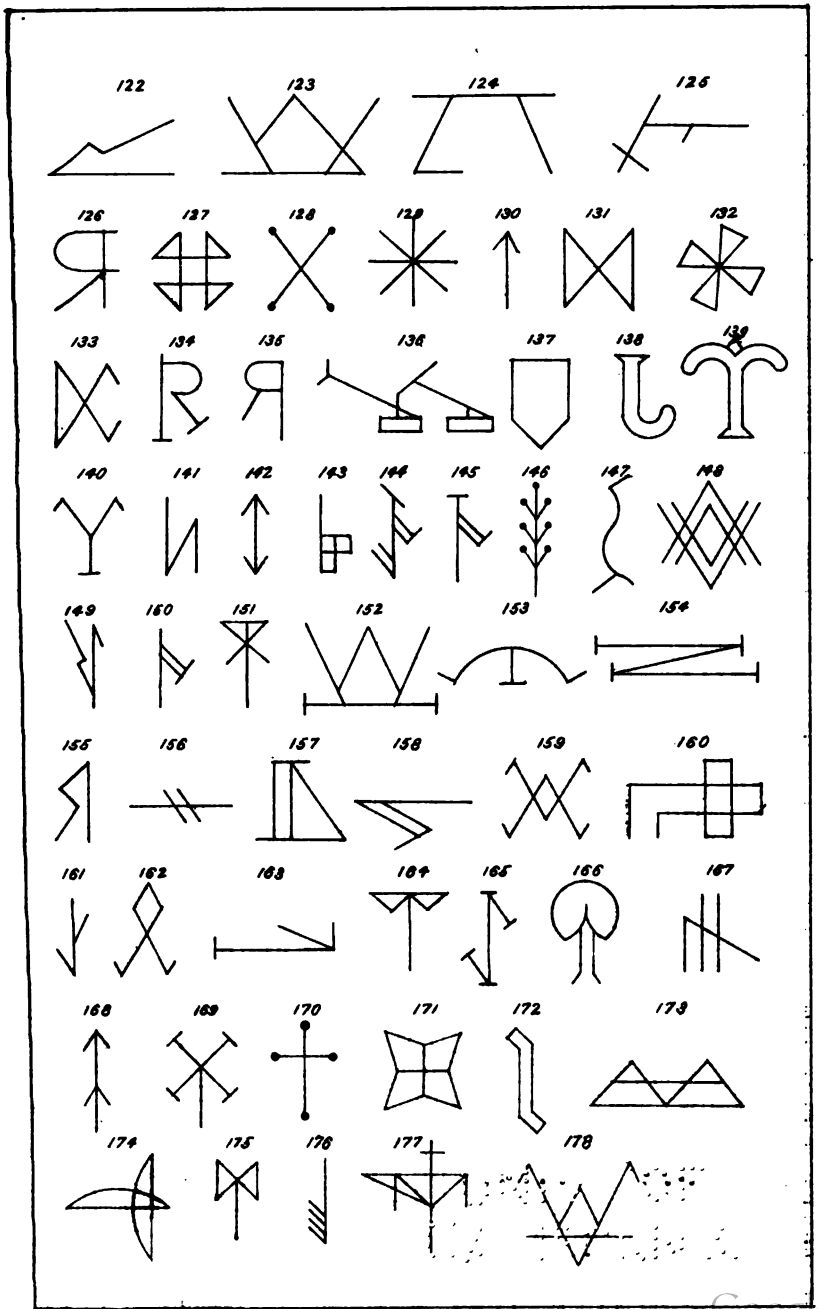

MASONS' MARKS, FURNESS ABBEY. PLATE III.

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ART. XXXV.—*Masons' Marks from Furness and Calder Abbeys.* By the EDITOR.

IN a previous volume of the Transactions of this Society there appeared four plates of masons' marks collected by Mr. William Creed, Clerk of the Works there, from the Abbey buildings, Carlisle.* Much interest has been taken in these plates in both masonic and archæological circles, and the Society now produces four more plates of marks from Furness and Calder Abbeys. The first three plates give 178 marks from Furness Abbey;† these were collected by the late Mr. Joseph Fletcher and Mr. James Dees, and published in a tract form in 1858: as this cannot now be obtained, the collection is here reproduced by the kind permission of Mr. Dees. The fourth plate gives some examples from Calder Abbey, collected by the Rev. A. G. Loftie.

At page 77 in this volume is an account of some remains, which have been, hesitatingly indeed, conjectured to be Roman. The writer, in company with Mr. John Fell, and Mr. Jackson, F.S.A., discovered masons' marks on them corresponding with those at Furness Abbey, from which the remains are not far distant. This disposes of the Roman theory.

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* Vol. v, p. 132.

† In the Archæologia Vol. xxx, p. 113, Mr. Godwin gives 40 marks from Furness Abbey.

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ART. XXXVI.—*Sculptured Runic Grave-Block at Dearham, W. Cumberland, date about* A.D. 850-950. By Prof. GEORGE STEPHENS, F.S.A., and the Rev. W. S. CALVERLEY.* *From drawings, light-bilds and rubbings forwarded by the* Rev. W. S. CALVERLEY. *Engraved by* Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, $\frac{1}{8}$*th.*

BADLY engraved by Daniel and Samuel Lysons in their Magna Britannia, Vol. iv., Cumberland, 4to, London 1816, a work of which no copy exists in Denmark. These gentlemen had not discovered the Latin and Runic inscriptions, which were first found by the Rev. W. S. Calverley, during repairs of his church in 1882. All that Dr. John Stuart, in his magnificent "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," folio, Vol. ii., Edinburgh 1867, Notices p. 18, says of this block is, that it is "covered with rude sculpture," and was probably part of an ancient cross; but he gives no authority for this last mistaken opinion.

This sarcophagus has therefore hitherto been practically unknown, and we must all thank the zeal and care with which Mr. Calverley has workt upon it. At my request he has favored me with the following excellent details, with permission to use them here:—

Dearham Vicarage, Carlisle.
May 16, 1882.

Dearham Church, in the Diocese of Carlisle, stands on a howe something more than 100 feet above the sea level and at a distance, in a direct line, of two miles from the shore of the Solway and two miles and a half from the mouth of the river Ellen, eastward. This neck of land slopes quickly down on the east and north sides to Rowbeck, whilst on the west and south two little ghylls running into the beck, almost divide the peninsula from the main land. The position is naturally strong. On the opposite side of Rowbeck, and facing the

* Printed from advance sheets, kindly furnished by Professor Stephens, of "Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England."

east

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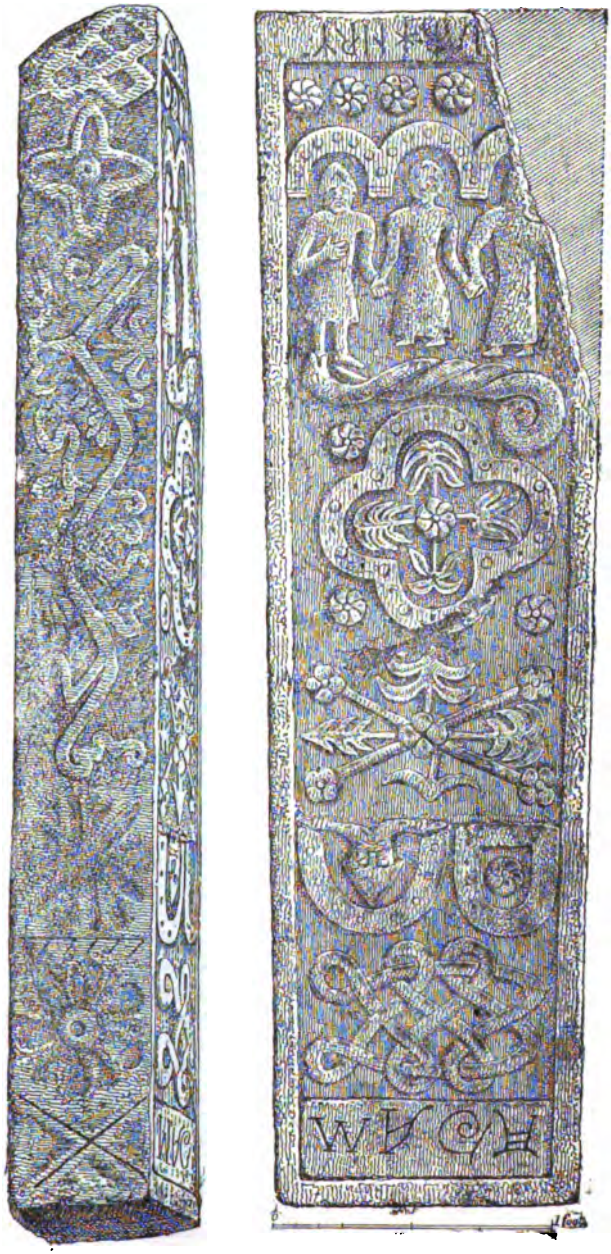

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east of the Church, is a farm-house, Dearham Hall, formerly the home of the Dearhams and probably fortified. At the west end of the Church stands a massive, square, battlemented Tower, built on to the old Church late in the 13th century or early in the 14th. It is 40 feet high or thereabouts so that, standing in the hollow of the projecting neck of land, it commands the tops of the undulations over the surrounding district for a great distance, without itself becoming conspicuous. It would thus be a valuable shelter, beacon and defence during the border troubles.

Many coffin lids or sepulchral slabs, bearing foliated Crosses with Calvary steps and window tracery and the Sword and Shears and Book, are found built as copings to the Churchyard wall and porch, and seats in the porch.* This last was added in the decorated period.

The most easterly portion of the Chancel has been added to a former Chancel in the Early English period. That former Chancel was added to the nave during the Norman period. The two small original Norman windows of fine hewn masonry, which threw light upon the altar of that day, still remain. The original stone Church probably corresponded in length to the present Nave, which is now being restored and enlarged by the addition of an aisle on the North side. This length was about 48 feet. The foundations of the eastern and western walls were found under the present chancel and tower arches during the recent works.—In the south wall towards the east end was a recess in the wall. In the place where the piscina should be, it still remains. Beneath this recess and inside the Church, south of the altar of that early Church, there had been many burials. Upon trying the ground with an iron rod and finding an obstruction at a depth of about 5 feet, and much water, it was determined to remove the soil carefully and prove the cause of the dampness, so as to remove it if possible. Close to the wall and only a few inches from the surface, a burial was observed facing eastward. No traces of any coffin or envelopement, a veritable illustration of "earth to earth." Each bone lay bedded in the mould, in perfect order. The workmen, who were most careful and reverent, were ordered to step aside and excavate alongside the burial; but with a like result at a greater depth. A second time there was made a new beginning, and now, at at a somewhat greater depth and partially under the superincumbent death-heap (in its turn an earlier burial than the first), lay one who

* Transactions of this Society, Part i., Vol. v., Art. xviii. Part i., Vol. vi., Art. xxii. These fragments, &c., have been preserved and together with many others which have come to light during the restoration and enlargement of the church have been placed in the walls of the new aisle and of the porch that they may tell their hidden tale of the past once more to the people.

had

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had been interred with a long straight Wand—without bark upon it—adown his body, but in no coffin. At least no traces of such could be seen. There were wet leaves amongst the clayey soil, preserved through ages in the cold and airless humidity of this grave, so different from the dry pure earth of the upper ones. A bed of Hazel or Ivy leaves had been laid for the dead body, and probably his Cross (an untooled Hazel wand with a cross piece) was then laid upon him.

But what was the cause of the dampness and thus the preservation of these frail leaves, and this wand only half an inch in diameter? It was, that beneath this grave and a little to the side was a coffin of oak; at each end its sides projected, having been cut away by an adze or hatchet, so as to form at each end two handles. The lid had fallen in. The iron nails were still to be seen. Of the body but few the remains. The teeth were ground down close to the jawbone. The burial had been placed in the clay, from which no water could escape, and hence the preservation of the wood. This I raised up, and beneath it, on the bottom of the grave, still lay, apparently almost as perfect as when placed there, 2 Hazel wands, thus X, as a St. Andrew's Cross, with the bark still on them and the silvery light to show they *were* Hazel when dry. Similar Hazel wands were above the coffin, *flattened* on one side and with the bark on, whereas the *first*-mentioned wand was *round* and had evidently been purposely peeled. Whether the crossed wands have any special significance or were tied round the coffin, which was evidently intended to be carried, I cannot say. I would only remind you of the St. Andrew's Cross and the thunderbolts on the Dearham Runic Slab, and of the four like Crosses at the foot of the famous Cross in the Dearham churchyard.

In connection with these burials and Hazel wands I would mention, that St. Kentigern [died 601]* was the apostle of Strathclyde. There is a story or legend about him to this effect:—"Some one who had a spite against him put out all the fires of the monastery. Hereupon St. Kentigern snatched up a green Hazel bough, and in the name of the Holy Trinity blessed it and blowed upon it. Immediately, by fire sent down from heaven, the bough produced a great flame, and the Saint lighted the candles for the vigils. On this, the light ceased from the wood." I think these facts tend to prove St. Kentigern's influence in connection with this coast.

To return to the Church. I do not known to whom it was dedicated. The stones of which it was built are the usual square-faced long wedge-like red sandstone blocks used by the Romans at their camps.

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* ? (The octave of the Epiphany, Jan. 13, A.D. 603) W. S. C.

Many

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Many still retain the Roman tooling. Amongst them, during the work of restoration, I have discovered the top of an elegant little Roman Altar; but, unfortunately, the inscription is gone. The Roman road from the station at Ellenborough on the Solway, by Papcastle to Keswick, runs within a mile of the Church; from this Ellenborough station, or from some nearer Roman look-out, the stones of the old Church would be carried.—According to his biographer, St. Kentigern journeys from Carlisle to Keswick and there erects a Cross, whence the place afterwards takes the name of Crossthwaite. He then makes for the sea, and so along the coastlands towards Wales. Thus all along the Roman road we have evidences of mission stations, which may have been founded or re-invigorated by him.

"We have two roads leading over the old common, from Ellen*borough* and Ewanrigg and past Kirk*borough* and Hay*borough*, still called Cross*how* loanings, and another from Craik*how*. All run to the Church, where stood the Cross before the first stone Church, and perhaps before either St. Cuthbert's or St. Kentigern's time. Another early mission station stood between Dearham and the sea, at Cross-steanonby, now Cross-canonby, and another at Gill-crux on the inland side of Dearham.

"The Dearham slab, as is well known, was over the North doorway of the Church, whence I took it out. But, besides being so badly engraved by Lysons, its Roman and Runic letterings were unknown. They were buried under many coats of whitewash and plaster. How much we are indebted to this shielding plaster, we cannot say! Now that the stone has been taken down, during the repairs, all is clear. It was intended to be recumbent, not to stand upright, and is sculptured only on the top and on one long side. Thus it was originally placed alongside a wall, or in a recess in a wall, where the further side and the ends would not be seen.—It is of yellowish sandstone, probably from the old quarry near the junction of Row-beck with the Ellen. Length, 4 feet 3 inches and a quarter; least width at foot, 13 inches; greatest width, 15 inches; depth, 6 inches.—On the top, a raised border runs round the slab, 1 inch in width, but 2 inches at the runic end. The width of the panel bearing the Roman letters is 3½ inches.—At the right corner of the upper or broader end a piece has broken away, carrying with it part of the third figure and the beginning of the runic writing. Sufficient remains to show, that we have here a representation of the fall and restoration of humanity, in which the seed of the woman shall bruise the Serpent's head, tho that Serpent bruise his heel. (Genesis, 3, 15). * Under the runes, 7 re-

* Three of these revolving bodies have been broken away.

volving

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volving bodies whirl above the tabernacle-work of the three round arches, each studded with 8 symbolic pellets, under which are *Adam*, in whom all die, hand in hand with the *Woman*, and with *Christ* in whom all are made alive again. Beneath, are 2 Serpents, one biting the foot of a mitred man, * "the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls" (1 Peter, 2, 25); the other with bruised head, down twisted. Something is left of further sculpture, running up the broken part.—Then comes a mysterious quatrefoil, the centre occupied by a revolving body which throws out 4 tongues of flame or arrows of fire at right angles with each other, whilst each arch of the sign is studded with *raised flat pellets* and *incised points*, arranged alternately, each arch containing 4 pellets and 3 points, the whole sign 28 pellets and points in all. Outside the quatrefoil, in 3 of the angles, again revolve the whirling body. What can this be but the Sun and Moon, the 7 days of the week, the 4 weeks of the month or 28 day, of which *four* are the great Holy days the Sundays?—Then another strange sign, in which Thunder-bolts and Lighting-arrows take the form of a St. Andrew's Cross and a Greek Cross.—Next, an archway, something of the shape of a horse-shoe, studded with points (only 4 left), with the revolving sphere again in its centre; beside it, a mitred head under a canopy or halo or arch, studded with 8 flat pellets—So comes the emblem of Eternity or of the Ancient of Days, the fret without beginning and without end.——All the sculptures on this upper side or face are *in relief*.

"The front side has no border, and most of its sculptures are *incised*. Beginning on the right, we have the ancient Cross sign known as St. Andrew's.—Next, I think, the Sun in all his glory, or perhaps the earth.—Then a straight perpendicular line, with 5 side-strokes. Seemingly, too regular to be chisel-marks, tho I dare not give them any meaning.—Next a sort of revolving body throwing out rays of light, the 6 principal being slightly curved, shewing *active motion*. This may be the Sun. Each figure has 6 large and 6 small rays, which I think correspond to 12 hours day and 12 hours night, 7 such days being a week, of which 4 are a month (4 Sundays), of which 12 are a year.—To the left is an inflected or deflected rod, one end taking the form of a crook. The whole has budded and floriated, and the trefoil is plainly visible amongst the foliations, as also is the arrow-lightning sign.—Further left, a 4-lobed Star, followed by diamond or losenge work (a bit of a corner knocked off).—The (12 hour's light and 12 night hours, or full) day of active life of our Bis-

* "For ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls."

hop,

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hop,* whose Staff has budded and been fruitful among the worshippers of the Sun or Thunderer, is over. He enters Eternity, with the guiding Star before him, which has the shape of the Cross.—What is certain is, that this Runic Slab must be *earlier* than the North doorway of our Norman Church, over which it was placed as mere building-stuff.

W. S. Calverley."

After this exhaustive and valuable paper, I have little to say. I look upon this Slab as excessively costly, not only because it bears runes, but also as giving us new material in that *difficult* study—chiefly for want of monuments—the *oldest* Christian art-symbols. All that I can clearly see is, that Mr. Calverley has rightly identified the principal scene. Man fallen and Man redeemed, here shown in a masterly picture full of deep meaning, which I have *never seen before*. What strikes us is, that Adam and Eve are *draped*. But this only shows that the treatment is conventional. It is not the scene in Paradise, it is the Man-kind, the Human Race, for whom Christ died. And so the charming naive handling of the Serpent, his revenge and his punishment shown on the same plane by doubling his form, as so often in olden art, pagan and Christian.—We must wait for fresh finds, before we can speak with any certainty on the other symbols, which may have belonged to an individual local artist or thinker, rather than to a school.

My approximate *date* is founded on the stone itself being old building-rubbish from Pre-Norman times, from its bearing Old-Northern Runes together with Roman letters later than the time of Charlemagne, and from its antique ornamentation. It is the *second* Sarcophagus slab bearing runes known to me in England, the *first* being the Dover stone, 8th century, my Vol. 1, p. 465 and Vol 2, p. 865.

As to the *inscriptions*. The word ADAM is certainly the

* The dead man Adam may have been Bishop, Abbot or Prior. Can these heavenly signs together with the budded rod have been intended to symbolize the Queen of Heaven and Joseph's rod?—W.S.C.

name

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name of the deceast, and is not uncommon in early as in latter days. He may well have been a Bishop or Abbot, or some high ecclesiastic. With regard to the runes. The date makes it unlikely that they should be the later or Scandinavian. The corner being broken off here, some 4 staves or so are gone *at the beginning*, while there never has been any other letter after the last ᛉ on the right, Now *if* later runes, we get, in the complete word, HNLÆRM, the Æ and R being a bind. But this gives no meaning, and contractions are very unlikely here, as we expect the usual prayer-formula, which would be made very clear. All things show, therefore, that we must take the inscription to have been in the *Old-Northern* letters. In this case *the first* stave in this last vocable is the usual bind for GI, as on the Dover stone (GIYOSLHEARD) eleswhere, while *the last* will be the usual O. N. mark for A. We thus get GI-NIÆRA. We at once recognize this as good Old-English, 3 s. pres. subjunctive, *may-he-*NÆRE, *help*, *save*, the verb itself being widely known in Scando-Gothic dialects, from Mæso-Gothic gaNASYAN, to save, *active*; gaNISAN, to be saved, *neuter*; Old-English geNERIAN, geNESAN; Ohg. giNERIAN; O. Fris. NERA; O. Icel. and O. Swedish NÆRA; Danish NÆRE, downwards. In some talks it sinks to the meaning of *to nourish, feed*. And as we have in Old-English and elsewhere HÆLEND (the Healer, the Saviour) for JESUS or CHRIST, so we have also NERIGEND, NERIEND for God and Christ. But in these far-off runic times, among the many verbs used to express this idea of Salvation and Protection for the departed friend (such as HELP, LETE, SEE, &c.), we have never yet found this particular verb NERIAN. In my opinion this is only from pacucity of monuments, what we have being as nothing to what we have lost, and new runic words and formulas yearly coming in as new monuments come in. I cannot therefore but look on this risting as in Old Northern staves, and regard this as giving the first example of this prayer for the dead with this particular word.—

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word.—The letter before it is a broken ᛚ (L), and ᚢ (U), and then a broken ᛋ (S), thus SUL, *soul*, in the accusative, (a spelling instead of the usual SAUL, which is also found elsewhere). Remains the first word, broken away. This must have been KRIST (the ST carved separately, or in one, as a bind ᛥ), as on the Kilbar stone, p. 315 in this volume. The whole will then have been :

ADAM.

(krist S)U(L) GI—NIÆRA.

May-Christ his-SOUL NÆRE (save, bless)!

In this case we have here -A as the mark of the 3 person sing. of the present subjunctive, it afterwards falling to -E. But this is a further proof of the likelihood of my reading, for we expect this archaic sound on so very old a monument. The ᚫ (Æ), in the bind for ÆR, also like the ᛦ for A on the Brough stone) an early rarity in England.

NOTE ON THE DISCOVERY OF HAZEL WANDS IN TOMBS: BY THE EDITOR.

Many instances of such are on record. In the Handbook to the York Museum by Wellbeloved, seventh edition, p. 151, is mention of two coffins of wood of the Anglian, or Anglo-Saxon period, formed by splitting the trunks of oaks longitudinally. These were found in 1876 in the Church Hill, Selby, near the Ouse. In both of these coffins rods and branches of hazel were discovered, and some fragments, together with the coffins, are now in York Museum.

A slender hazel wand and some shells were found in the grave of Richard Mayo, Bishop of Hereford, 1504 to 1516, Archæologia Vol. xxxi, p. 25. Dean Merewether in the Archæologia states that other instances have occurred at Hereford, and Mr. Albert Way conjectures "that the hazel wand is the thin wand, which is not unfrequently seen in representations of pilgrims in XVth century art, tied up with the bourdon, or pilgrim's staff, properly so called. I had always taken this thin wand for a consecrated taper; but it seems not unlikely that as the pilgrim picked up a few shells on the shore of Galicia,

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Galicia, as found by you in the grave, so the usage obtained that he should cut a stick, as he went along, and bring it away with him as a token, tied up with his bourdon, and that, with the shells, this wand was preserved, to be finally placed in the grave. I have made inquiries in France, and elsewhere, and can hear of no similar instance of interment." *Ibid* p. 253.

In this connection it may be noted that on a sepulchral slab in the tower of Brigham Church in Cumberland is a long wand of cane or bamboo, and it has been conjectured that this slab commemorated a pilgrim.*

On the examination of the tomb of St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester, A.D. 1245-1253, it was observed that "on the surface lay fragments of hazel wands, or branches, such probably, as pilgrims were accustomed to cut by the way." Archæological Journal, Vol. iii., p. 263. The "probably &c.," is merely Mr. Way's conjecture. But in the Archæogia, Vol. xxxvi., p. 129 (The Graves of the Alemanni at Oberflacht in Suabia by W. M. Wylie) several instances are given of hazel wands found with interments in *todten-baüme* or hollowed trees. In one instance the wand is described as a "white, barked, hazel rod." Hazel nuts occurred in many of the coffins, and hazel nuts also occurred in connection with the interments in *todten-baüme* found near Haltwhistle. Archæologia, Vol. 44, p. 9.

The Abbe Cochet found a hazel wand in a stone coffin, which he assigned to the 12th century, at Etran near Dieppe. He says "Quel pouvait etre le sens de cette verge ou le motif de ce dépot. Je l'ignore: mais ce que je puis assurer, c'est que le fait n'est pas sans exemple dans les sépultures chrétiennes de cette époque, et même dans les sépultures de la période franque." Archæologia, Vol. xxxix, p. 128. And he gives several examples.

The Oberflacht graves are beyond doubt heathen interments, and carry the practice back to very remote times. But whatever may have been its original significance, it was continued in Christian times. Dearham is the only instance I can find of the crossed wands: and at Dearham we have both peeled and unpeeled wands.

Hazel staves had some mystic import. In the Eigil Saga we find the judges at a solemn trial fenced in from the crowd by a circle of hazel rods, or staves. A white crowned snake, dwelling beneath a hazel bush, plays its part in German superstition, under the name of the hazel worm. But it elsewhere appears under the same tree in human form clothed in white, and the pagan fairy afterwards becomes the Madonna.

* Another suggestion is that the wand is a cloth measure, but the divisions are at irregular intervals.

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ART. XXXVII.—*Explorations at Calder Abbey.* By the Rev. ARTHUR G. LOFTIE, B.A.

Read at Keswick, October 5th, 1882.

I have been asked to write a paper, with the above name, for the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society; I fear the title is too pretentious, for a lost abbey has not been opened up, nor to any extent have hidden treasures been brought to light: but, by the work of yc hands, assisted occasionally by willing helpers, Dr. Parker and I have, on a small scale, uncovered some interesting remains, and added some little to the interest and knowledge of a picturesque ruin. We were simultaneously struck with the idea, that the visit of the "Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society" to the Abbey, in August, 1881, was an opportunity for carrying out a desire we both had long had, to do something towards the repair of the groined roof of the Chapter House, which was fast giving way; and to unbury the hidden part of the Norman west door of the church. So we at once set to work, the authorities at the Abbey met us with great liberality, and gave us *carte blanche* to do all that was absolutely necessary, to give support to that which was in a dangerous condition, and to rebuild that portion of the roof that had fallen in, and they also supplied workmen to assist in opening up the west doorway, Thus was begun the work, which has occupied many of our spare hours for six months of the last winter. The digging at the west door well repaid our labour, for we found the steps, and the bases of the pillars, in good repair, preserved by the soil which had been heaped upon them when, about a hundred years ago, the

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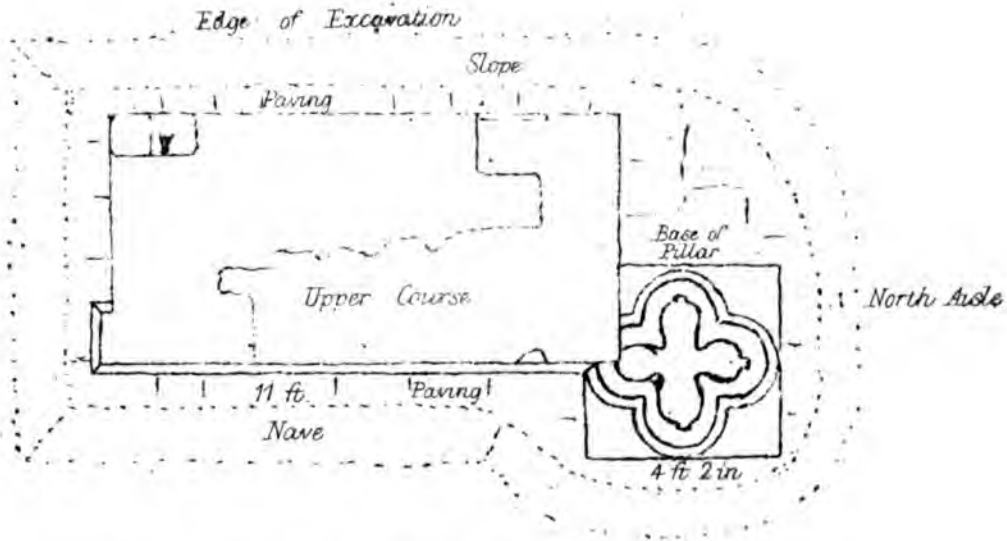
Fig 2.



Foundation of Screen? adjoining 1st Pillar of Nave. Calder Abbey. Ground Plan

Fredk Dangerfield Lith London 4697

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the ground appears to have been raised to its present height and three feet above the level of the floor of the church. Next we commenced with the door of the north transept a remarkably beautiful early English door with deeply cut arch mouldings. Here also we found the steps, two in number, in excellent preservation, and the bases of the shafts; and within the door one of the flags of the pavement remained in its place; the soil here was not so deep as at the west end, the level of the church being no doubt higher—it was only about 28 inches. On beginning to dig round the north-west pier of the central tower, we found at the depth of a foot a pavement of flat stones which seemed to have formed the floor of the modern outhouses, which, no doubt, covered this portion of the area of the ruins, before the ground was levelled, raised and covered with turf. Going down further we again came upon a pavement, no doubt that of the choir for it corresponded with the bases of the clustered columns of the pier; here we can trace two masons' marks quite sharp and fresh.* In digging at this place a stone head of a bishop or abbot was found: it shows, on much of its surface, the traces of gilding. In the opening up of the next pillar to the pier—the first of the north aisle of the nave—we also unburied a carved head of the same stone, it is that of a monk very small, and very beautifully worked. The uncovering of the base of this pillar, shewed, extending from it southwards, a mass of dressed stone (shewn in the accompanying plan, fig. 2) eleven feet three inches long by five feet four inches broad. The upper surface has plainly been robbed of its dressed stone, and so is of irregular form, most of it being about a foot in height above the pavement which still surrounds it. This structure from its situation and appearance, we judge to be the foundation of one of the chancel screens, the part uncovered being the

* For these marks and others, see *ante* p. 357. N.B. The numbering of the illustrations to this paper begins with "Fig. 2."

northern

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northern half; the other portion, no doubt, being still buried under the grass and soil. There is a kind of groove in the south end of it which seems to have admitted the door of the screen to have been shut back against it. In the old picture of the Abbey, on a panel in the Abbey House, a screen is seen to be in this position, with an opening in the centre. The pillar, at the base of which these remains were found, shews the marks, to above the capital, of the screen which was built against it, some of it having been cut away to make room for it, and also marks of the longitudinal screen, between the nave and the north aisle, can be easily traced.

After the Chapter House roof was repaired, and the premier arch of the large decorated window taken down and rebuilt, we partially excavated the floor space. Here we discovered the seats built of stone, against the north, east, and south sides; from these the dressed stone tops have been removed. We found in this part of the excavations—which are still proceeding—four pieces of fan tracery, which seem to have formed parts of two piscinas or holy water stoups, they are not perfect enough for us to be certain which. (See plate 3.) As in this place the abbots were buried we hope to come across other interesting carved stones, perhaps the rest of the tomb of Abbot Robert de "Wilughby," now placed in the cell.

In front of the sedilia, in the chancel, we have excavated a trench to shew the level of the church at this place, the pavement is gone and we find that the walls have no deep foundations, but seem to lie on the earth only a few inches under the floor level. Then digging eastward from this point we traced the south wall of the chancel for nine feet eight inches beyond the end of the existing wall, and here came upon the south-east angle of the sanctuary. Thus shewing the extreme length of the church to be 145 feet from the west door. The rest of the east wall has been removed. The site of the High Altar is occupied by a cart road,

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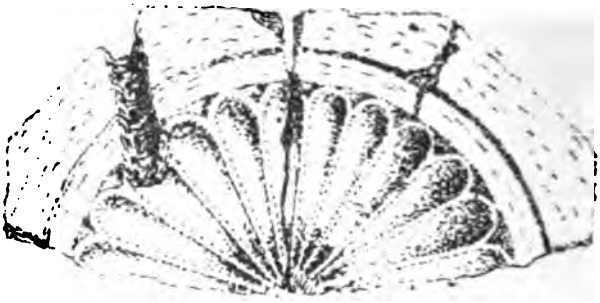
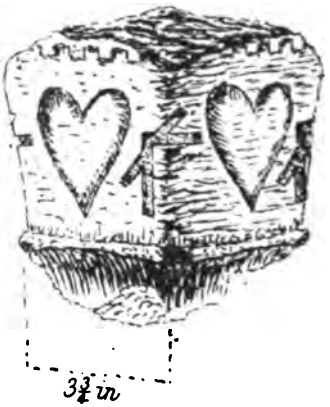
Fig 3.



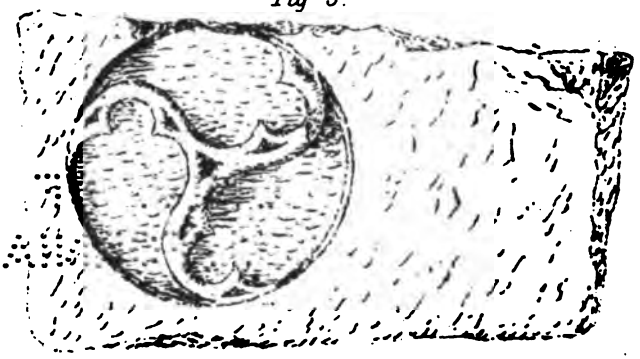
Two fragments of Piscina c..... dug out of soil on floor of Chapter House.

Fig 4.



Found in the wall of the stableyard.

Fig 5.



Found in the Garden.

Calder Abbey

Fred.k Dangerfield. Lith, London 1897

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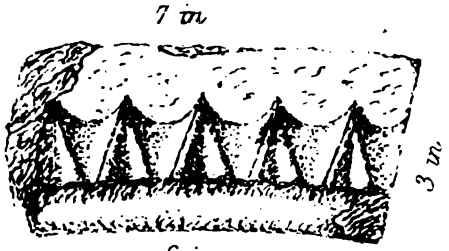
Fig 6.



Segment of Arch c. 1170,
found in digging out west door.
Transition from Norman.

Fig 7.

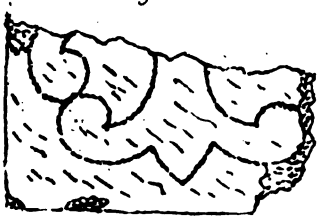


Fig 8.

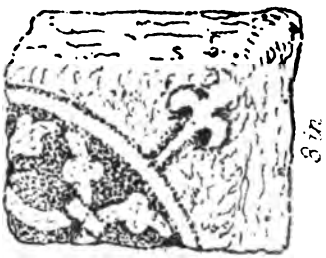
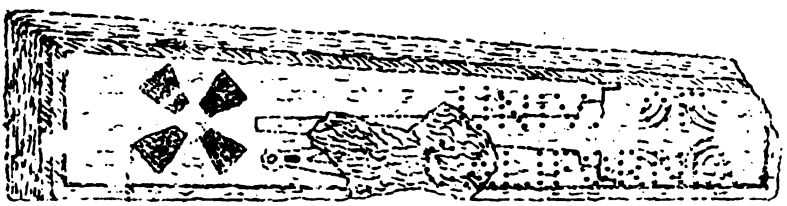


Fig 9.



Calder Abbey.

Fred.k Dangerfield Lith. London 469.

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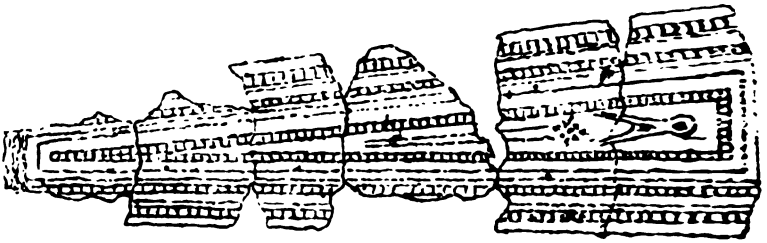
Fig 10



5 feet.

Fig 11

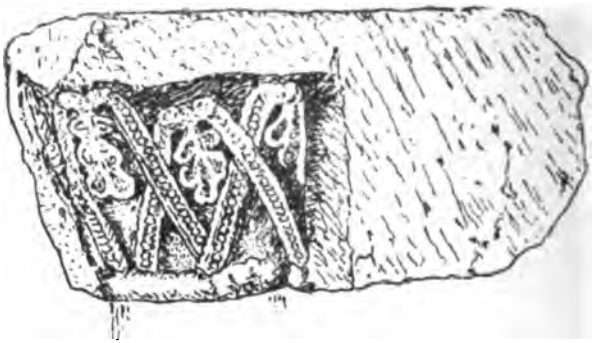
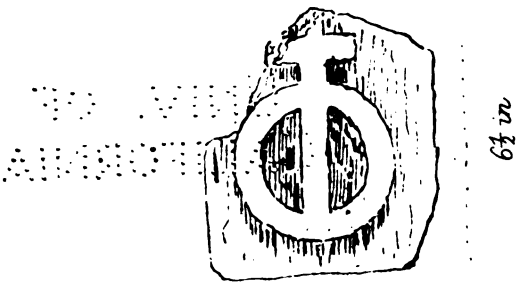


Fig 12



5½ in

Fred.k Dangerfield Lith. London 4691

CALDER ABBEY.

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road, and so we cannot as yet open it up. We do not intend excavating eastward, as churches of the Cistercian Order have no Lady Chapel, being themselves always dedicated to St. Mary.

Dr. Parker has made some very accurate sketches of a number of carved stones found during the explorations, one of these stones exhibits peculiar ornamentation of hearts and squares repeated on its four sides. (See plate 4.) No one as yet seems to have given a satisfactory explanation of them, it was shewn in the loan exhibition of the Royal Archæological Institute at Carlisle, together with the portable altar, the large cresset stone,* and the two carved heads.

Perhaps these notes may be continued in some future volume of the Transactions if anything more of interest is discovered. In time we hope to make an accurate plan of the Abbey buildings, as the different features are exposed to sight. Already, in beginning again the digging for this winter, the foundation of another screen has been found cutting off the eastern chapel of the south transept, to make, we suppose, a sacristy, for there is no trace of one in the usual place between the transept and the Chapter House, and in this apartment there is to be seen a door, very probably original, broken through the wall beside the sedilia into the sanctuary; and also a locker in the north wall shewing the marks of the door which fitted into it. In the apartment, over the Chapter House, is a curious instance of a fireplace being introduced into a window in the 14th or 15th century, the tracery of a decorated window can be seen by looking up into the chimney the flue coming through the open tracery at the top. It may be interesting to mention that part of the roof on the present dining-room of the dwelling-house is a remnant of the old refectorium which stood with gables north and south in the centre of the south walk of

* For these, see *ante*, Vol. iii., pp. 190, 194.

the

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the cloister: the rest of the roof becoming unsafe it was removed by the late Captain Irwin who told me of the alteration. The old picture, already referred to; shews this gable and the whole cloister garth complete, though the cloister itself seems to have disappeared, buildings surrounding the whole area.

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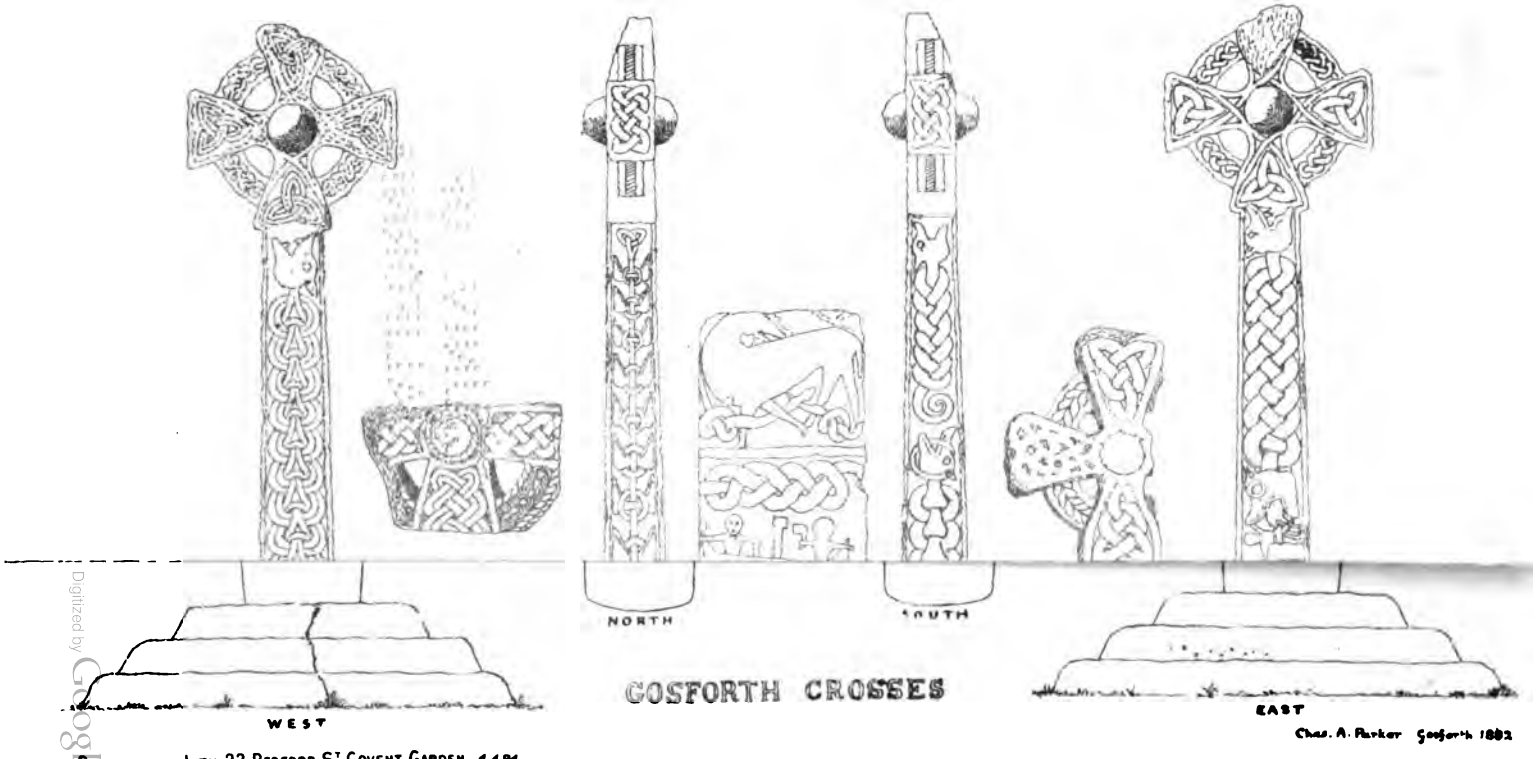

GOSFORTH CROSSES

Chas. A. Parker Gosforth 1882

DANGERFIELD, LITH 22, BEDFORD ST COVENT GARDEN. 4481.

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ART. XXXVIII.—*The Sculptured Cross at Gosforth W. Cumberland.*—By the Rev. W. S. CALVERLEY, Vicar of Dearham.* Drawings, Measurements, and some details by C. A. PARKER, M.D., Gosforth. Engravings by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN of Copenhagen.

ON the 8th of July, 1881, the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society inspected the famous cross in Gosforth Churchyard; remarks as to its age and the probable meaning of the figures carved upon it were made by several of the party. Dr. Parker mentioned a tradition of the place that the cross had been erected by Danes who had been converted to Christianity. I expressed the thought that the sculptures on the panel on the west face indicated the binding to a rock of Loki, the Scandinavian Evil One, and that other sculptures represented the Crucified One overcoming Death and Hell.

Further study of the subject, with the help of Dr. Stephens of Copenhagen, and others, has resulted in "one of the most important discoveries of recent years in this district,"† concerning which the Rev. G. F. Browne says, in a lecture delivered by him before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Nov. 20th, 1882:—"With regard to which (*i.e.*, the Gosforth cross) it is not too much to say that this year has seen a *revelation* of the language of these stones which no one had dreamed of before."‡

Dr. Parker offered his help towards cleaning the stone in order that photographs might be taken, and "the story of the cross" made plain, if possible, and we agreed to

* A preliminary paper on the cross was read before the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, at their meeting at Carlisle, Aug. 3rd, 1882. Drawings were exhibited by Dr. Parker. Full-size drawings and a second paper were also laid before the Royal Archæological Institute at their meeting in Oxford Street, Dec. 2nd, 1882. See *Archæological Journal* for March, 1883.

† *Carlisle Patriot*, Aug. 4th, 1881.

‡ Cambridge University Reporter, Nov. 28th, 1882.

work

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work together to this end. I had thought that I recognized, on the head of the cross, and in some of its ornamentation, the symbol of the Holy Trinity and designs similar to those in the early Irish MSS. besides the sculptures which referred to the northern or Scandinavian mythology; in this I was not supported by the members present, and many and strange were the suggestions offered as to the interpretation of the figures; nevertheless, I have a very vivid recollection of going to Gosforth one dull wet day in the late autumn of 1881, when I thought that the continuous damp and rain of the previous weeks would have softened the lichens which had filled every sculptured hollow on the cross head, and of standing with Dr. Parker beneath the cross, whilst his coachman, up aloft, with a dash of a wet brush to the right and to the left hand scattered the softened mosses and revealed—what none had seen clearly perhaps for centuries—the sign of the everliving Trinity, the Triquetra of the Book of Kells and other MSS. of the early Christian Church :—(See the arms of the cross head, east side.) Most of the devices were made pretty clear on this visit.

In course of time Messrs. Green of Grasmere, succeeded in taking some excellent photographs, and by careful comparison of these with the original, Dr. Parker was enabled to make the accompanying drawing.

The fragments, lithographed on this sheet do not belong to the cross, the four sides of which are shewn here.

Professor Dr. George Stephens of Copenhagen, wrote to me concerning the cross, and I sent to him photographs and drawings with such descriptions as I was able to give and such opinions as I could form. The result of this correspondence (which has been of untold pleasure to me), will be embodied in the remarks which follow. The professor made a pilgrimage to the cross, and pronounced it to be "one of the costliest olden Roods in Europe"—unique in all his experience, and probably of seventh century date.

It

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It is necessary to get a correct idea of the cross *as a whole* before beginning to study its *details*. This slim pillar, most elegant in design and marvellous in the conception of its art stories, is a red sandstone Christian monument, and it is a monolith. It is not a heathen pillar surmounted by a cross. The surface of the lower part of the shaft is circular and measures 40 inches round the bottom. The surface of the upper part of the shaft is squared off and measures at the top, on the east and west faces six inches, on the north and south faces five inches. The head is 20 inches across. The cross is 14½ feet high, and it stands in a rectangular socket of *three* steps, plain, and a foot high. It is believed to be the tallest ancient cross in Britain. Rather more than the lower half of the rounded surface of the shaft is uncarved, the upper part (of this circular surface) is ornamented with a design found on the Dearham cross, on a "hog back" at Crosscanonby, &c.; curvilinear mouldings divide this part of the shaft from the four plane surfaces above, which contain the sculptures: above all are the four arms of the cross joined by a circle ornamented with plait work and having a boss in the centre projecting more than two inches.

The general appearance of the cross, at a little distance, is that of a gigantic Thor's hammer, the lower part of the shaft being polished. A closer inspection shews the whole to be an elaborately carved Christian cross set in a socket of three calvary steps.* This parallel between northern myths and Christian doctrines, traditions and signs, continues throughout and must be kept well in view, for as the four planes carrying the world-stories taper upwards towards the perfect circle with its centre and Holy Symbols, so the truths displayed thereon—Christian and Heathen—run side by side towards one Infinite Truth.

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* The engraving only shows *one step*, the photograph from which it was drawn not shewing the lowest step very clearly.

Some

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THE SCULPTURED CROSS AT GOSFORTH WEST SIDE.

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Some years ago I came to the conclusion that the design carved in relief on the east face of the cross at Dearham represented the World Ash Yggdrasil (See Part I., Vol. v., p. 153). Shortly afterwards my attention was drawn by Canon Knowles to a cross socket at Brigham, almost unknown (See Part I., Vol. vi., p. 211, &c.). A study of this socket convinced me that the true meaning of sculptures of this class was to be sought amongst the songs and beliefs of the Anglian or Scandinavian peoples who must have settled here at a very early period. I am now able to prove the truth and value of this conviction, and to this end I ask the reader to refer to my drawings which illustrate the two short papers I have mentioned. The three monsters whose father was Loki, and whose mother was the witch of Jotunheim (the land of giants), were the Fenris-wolf, Jormungandr the monster of the universe, also called Midgardsworm the huge snake that lay in the great sea coiled round the earth, and a daughter of Hel.

Now when the gods heard that this kindred was being bred up in Jotunheim, and knowing that from such a stock all evil was to be expected on both father and mother's side, Alfadir bade the children be brought to him, and the worm or snake he cast into the deep sea that lay round all lands, where it grew so that it coiled itself round all the earth and bit its tail with its *teeth*.

Any one who looks at the huge monster on the top of the Brigham cross socket, coiled round the hollow (in which, at one time was the cross,) and biting its tail with its teeth, must at once identify the Midgardsworm. Now the socket of the Gosforth cross has no carving but simply *three* steps. Nevertheless from the centre rises up the Mundane tree, the World Ash Yggdrasil, the tree of the universe, of time and of life; you may see its closely intertwined branches shooting out from the smooth bole or trunk:—

I know an ash standing
Yggdrasil hight,
a lofty tree, laved
with limpid water:

thence

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thence come the dews
into the dales that fall;
ever stands it green
over Urd's fountain.

The stag Eikthynir browses upon its leaf-buds; its roots below (not seen on this cross) are gnawed by the Hel dragon Nid-hogg. Still the ash cannot wither until the last battle shall be fought. Its highest point, Lärad (peace-giver) overshadows Walhalla. There are the twelve halls of the twelve gods, and the plain Idavollr where the champions combat; in the centre, on the summit, is Odin's throne. So you may see the cross head with its threefold divisions in the four arms around the central boss, and connected by the circular band—to the followers of Odin typical of the twelve halls of the gods in Walhalla,—to the Christian the sacred symbols of the Trinity, the Triquetra. The great snake does not here lie coiled round the tree, because the monster has to take part in the events sculptured above, for the scenes portrayed are from the *Vala's prophecy in the Voluspa*, and deal with that last battle which I have named, Ragnarök, the twilight of the gods when Jormungandr and all Hel's kith and kin are arrayed against the Æsir.

In considering the episodes we have now chiefly to deal with the four plane surfaces on the sides of the cross, and we will begin with the *west* face thereof.

From the Œgisdrekka we learn that after Loki had disgusted the gods with his many treacheries and upbraidings, he, in the likeness of a salmon, cast himself into the waterfalls of Frânângr, where the Æsir (the gods) caught him, and bound him with the entrails of his son Nari, according to the words which Skadi, the wife of Niord, at Œgir's feast, had spoken to the taunting traitor:—

"Thou art merry, Loki!
Not long wilt thou
frisk with an unbound tail;
For thee, on a rock's point,

with

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with the entrails of thy ice-cold son,
the gods will bind."

And the words of Thor who replied to his scoffing:—

"Silence, thou impure being!
My mighty hammer Miöllnir,
shall stop thy prating.
Hrûngnir's bane
shall cast thee down to Hel,
beneath the gratings of the dead."

but his other son, Narfi, was changed into a wolf.

Skadi took a venomous serpent and fastened it up over Loki's face The venom trickled down from it. Sigûn, Loki's wife, sat by, and held a basin under the venom; and when the basin was full carried the poison out. Meanwhile the venom dropped on Loki, who shrank from it so violently that the whole earth trembled. This causes what are now called earthquakes. [See Loki panel p. 380.]

Bound she saw lying,
under Hveralund, (the hot spring's grove)
a monstrous form,
to Loki like.
There sits Sigún,
for her consort's sake,
not right glad.
Then the Vala knew
the fatal bonds were twisting,
most rigid,
bonds from entrails made.

Thus the false one lies bound in Hel's dark home beneath the gratings of the dead until Ragnarök. In the very faithful engraving of the panel at the *bottom* of the plain on the *west* face of the cross, here shewn, every particular is clear. The gyves round hands and feet, the bond round the neck, the head of the adder to the left, its body twisted and made fast by a ring above. Sigûn with her woman's hair plaited and her long gown, kneeling with poison-cup in hand, but the cup is removed to empty the venom, and the

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LOKI PANEL.

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the horrid slime eats into the monster's flesh, he wreaths in agony, every bond is stretched to its utmost strain, the gyves are bent awry, the last great struggle soon will set the giant free.

Let us now look at the upper part of this western face of the cross:—The first figure beneath the Triquetra, (which is on *this* side formed by a *double* band) has its wolfish head upwards, open-mouthed, a single large tooth in either jaw, eye and ear conspicuous; its body consists of eleven vertebræ with *double* pairs of ribs :— [See outline drawing.]

> Loki begat the wolf
> with Angrboda (Hdl. 38).

and his (Fenris's) children grew into horrible monsters, being fed by the old giantess on the marrow, bones, and blood, of murderers and evil-doers, in the last age when the bonds of laws were broken, and the destruction of the world drew near:—

> East sat the crone,
> in Járnvidir, (ironwood)
> and there reared up
> Fenris's progeny:
> of all shall be
> one specially
> the moon's devourer,
> in a trolls semblance.
> He is sated with the last breath
> of dying men;
> the *god's seat* he
> with red gore defiles.

Here then we see the monster attacking the seat of the gods, ready to gulp down sun or moon; in the eyes of Christians gaping with wide jaws to swallow the Triquetra.

Beneath are two other of the horrid monster kin parallel to each other, having knotted worm-like bodies and tails, lower jaw to lower jaw, with open mouths, fierce staring eyes, powerful tusk-like teeth, (one in either jaw) head downwards,

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HEIMDALL EPISODE.

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downwards, eager to attack the belted, bearded man clad in a tunic, who stands athwart the cross, and calmly with his staff, as tho' with the staff of omnipotence, in his right hand, keeps the Hel worms back. In his left hand the man holds a horn.

The accompanying engraving of this episode must be studied with the engraving of the Loki episode preceding. Thus will be seen, between the man with the staff who holds the horn in his left hand, and the bound fiend, *a man mounted on horseback*, belted and armed with a javelin or dart—man and horse upside down. A few strophes from the Vala's prophecy makes all plain; *above*, towards the top of the cross stem, on this and on the south side, the great wolves Skiöll and Hati rush up to attack the sun and moon; *beneath*, on this west side, Loki struggles in his final effort to be free; *in the midst*, Heimdall, the warder of Asgard, restrains the monsters eager for the fray when all bonds shall be loosed, he has blown a mighty blast on the Giallahorn to awaken the Ases and Einheriar, and to warn them to prepare for the last battle. Odin has armed himself and mounted his horse Sleipnir, and now rides away down to Mimir's well to consult the fates.

Further forward I see,
much can I say
of Ragnarök
and the gods' conflict.
an axe age, a sword age,
shields shall be cloven,
a wind age, a wolf age,
ere the world sinks.
Mim's sons dance,
but the central tree takes fire,
at the resounding
Giallar horn.
Loud blows Heimdall,
his horn is raised;
Odin speaks
with Mim's head.

Having

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Having clearly before us the idea of the impending Ragnarök, let us pass from the west face of this "column of the universe," with its Odin and Heimdall, its Loki and the wolf's progeny, to the south face.

I regret that we cannot here introduce a large engraving of the lower part of the plane surface of the south side.* A reference to the lithograph will, however, at once show the belted horseman, armed with javelin point downwards in his right hand, and holding the loose bridle in his left, in an attitude of living motion. Below this horseman is the coiled body of an adder which separates the home of the living from Nâströnd the strand or shore of corpses :—

> "She saw a hall standing,
> far from the sun,
> in Nâströnd;
> entwined is that hall
> with serpent's backs."

Underneath the adder's body is an embryo-like human figure, with limbs interlaced and one great eye.

Odin has sought of coming things the knowledge which lies hid in Mimir's well, the ocean, the womb of the future, whose sons are the restless billows the offspring of the past and the present, where the god left his eye in pledge once when he craved a draught of its water, as says the Vala, replying, when Odin enquires concerning the fate of Baldr :—

> "Of what would'st thou ask me?
> Why temptest thou me?
> Odin! I know all,
> Where thou thine eye did'st sink
> in the pure well of Mim."

Such a ride as is sculptured here is well described in the Lay of Vegtam, which tells us that after the mighty gods,

* The cross is perfect save that a small piece has been chipped off the top towards the south. On the *ends* of the arms are interlaced patterns; round the circle, plait work.

in

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in conference, had consulted "why Baldr had oppressive dreams," and after that "all species swore oaths to spare him," still fearing some coming great calamity :—

"Up rose Odin
lord of men,
and on Sleipnir he
the saddle laid;
rode thence down
to Niflhel.
A dog he met,
from Hel coming.
It was blood-stained
on its breast,
on its slaughter-craving throat,
and nether jaw.
It bayed
and widely gaped
at the sire of magic song,
long it howled.
Forth rode Odin—
the ground rattled—
till to Hel's lofty
house he came.
Then rode Ygg
to the eastern gate,
where he knew there was
a Vala's grave.
* * * * * * *
To the prophetess he began
A magic song to chant, &c.,
until, compelled, she rose.

What questions Odin asked, and what were her answers, will be shewn further on; the last words of the prophetess are :—

"Home ride thou Odin!
and exult.
Thus shall never more
man again visit me
until Loki free
from his bonds escapes,
and Ragnarök
all destroying comes."

Now

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Now above the armed horseman (Odin) is the figure of a dog or wolf and the coils of a serpent or knotted bonds —see the engraving beneath the hart and above the head of the horseman—this engraving does not shew the long bushy wolfish tail of the beast, which is plainly to be seen on the stone itself, now it has been cleaned; also the coils or knots have, in the engraving, much the appearance of adders or serpents, the heads spitting venom on him who rides below, and they are faithful reproductions of the photograph, though a close inspection of the stone leaves one in doubt whether they were intended to represent anything else than the loosened bonds* (See the outline drawing). Be this as it may:—The chief of the Æsir has made that *last* visit to the home "beneath the gratings of the dead." He has passed the howling dog; he has looked into the *well of the future*, and—behold—it is Ragnarök:—

"Trembles Yggdrasil's
Ash yet standing;
groans that aged tree,
and the jotün (Loki) is loosed.
Loud bays Garm (Hel's dog)
before the Gnupa-cave,
his bonds he rends asunder
and the wolf runs."

This episode, from the Voluspa, is quite clear: the strophe (48) follows that in which Heimdall blows the horn, and "Odin speaks with Mim's head," "the wolf runs" vigorously enough as the loosened knots of his bonds fall from him.

As on the western face the central figure was Heimdall "the gods' watchman" at whose right hand (above) we saw the evil powers restrained, but at whose left (below) were those powers in the very act of breaking loose, whilst

* At the last great battle the wolf breaks loose, the waves of the sea overflow the land, and the great snake joins in the struggle alongside the wolf: the wolf howls, and the snake hisses and spits out poison which fills the air.

the

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the ever-watchful, the fellow-worker with gods and men sounded the alarm, and the all powerful Father himself prepared for the conflict, so on this southern face the central object is the hart*—the divine hart—the fountain of living waters :—

" Eikthyrnir the hart is called,
that stands o'er Odin's Hall,
and bites from Lærad's branches ;
from his horns fall
drops into Hvergelmir,
whence all waters rise."

Next to the hart, above, that is, at the *spring head* of the " Holy waters " lies a monster, here engraved most truthfully, much like the uppermost figure on the west face,

* Yggdrasil's Ash
hardships suffers
greater than men know of ;
a hart bites it above,
and in its sides it rots,
Nidhogg beneath tears it.

consisting

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consisting of eight vertebræ, and eight pairs of ribs, but these are single, and the beast is gagged and does not shew his teeth, nevertheless the life in his full round eye and in his jaws, indeed in the whole design, forcibly reminds us that the wolf is only bound and gagged, not killed, as

Frey pictured him to Loki whom she threatened with a like fate at Œgir's feast :—

> "I the wolf see lying
> at the river's mouth,
> until the powers are swept away.
> So shalt thou be bound."

When

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When the gods had bound the wolf, with a sword they gagged him, the hilt in the lower, the point in the upper jaw; here the iron passes through the lower jaw, round the cheek bone and behind the ear, then round the front of the snout and again into the lower jaw. Above, with toothed mouth* wide open, gaping upwards, is a serpent form knotted upon itself, the curled tail† of which is shewn in the engraving; another form of the old serpent no longer "frisking with unbound tail," but still struggling in his bonds and menacing the Holy powers above.

On the lower part of the plane, beneath the hart who walks calm and unhurt, we have seen the wolf escaping from his bonds, and possibly the serpent writhing with a giant's strength eager for the fray, whilst Odin, armed, rides up from the sacred well or the Vala's grave, to lead his brave Ases in this last and most terrible encounter. The battle rages—read we the story and its parallels on the eastern plane of this wonderful cross—a churchyard picture Bible at once to the Pagan and to the Christian.

A glance at the outline of this east face will shew that the artist is faithful to the plan of his design—a central figure calm and majestic, though below the powers of Hel rage terribly, and above those powers are conquered or brought into subjection.

But who is *this* central figure on the *east side* of the cross? who with stretched out arms grasps the rope-like border of the oblong panel, whose side is pierced with the spear:— It may be that same Odin whom we have already twice seen, for does not Odin's Rune-song say:—

> "I know that I hung,
> on a wind rocked tree,
> nine whole nights,
> *with a spear wounded*,
> and to Odin offered,

* Though not shewn in the lithograph, this monster, has, like *all the others* on the cross, save the gagged one, *one* huge tooth in either jaw; the drawing was made before the cross was thoroughly cleaned, hence the mistake.

† Such a curled tail is also seen on the cross socket at Brigham.

myself

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myself to myself;
on that tree,
of which no one knows
from what root it springs."

or it may be Baldr the beautiful, the peace-giver, the bright son of the Father, who by the treachery of Loki was slain, pierced by a dart sent forth by blind Hödr, and made of the mistletoe which had been overlooked when Frigg, his mother, took vows of all things else that they would not harm her son :—

"I saw of Baldr,
the blood-stained god,
Odin's son,
the hidden fate.
There stood grown up,
high on the plain,
slender and passing fair,
the mistletoe.
From that shrub was made,
as to me it seemed
a deadly, noxious dart,
Hödr shot it forth."

As the Vala had prophecied :—

"Hödr will hither
his glorious brother send,
he of Baldr will
the slayer be,
and Odin's son
of life bereave."

And so the beardless man to the left, holding the spear, may be blind Hödr, who, with the fatal mistletoe shaft, has, unwittingly (for it was false Loki who, unseen, guided the blind god's aim) done the deadly deed ; and the woman to the right may well be Nanna the wife of Baldr :—"Nanna sorrowing in earth's deep sanctuaries" as the gods saw her when Baldr was no more, and Nanna had fallen from her high place, fallen down beneath the tree, and peace had departed from Valhall ;—or Frigg who should grieve a second time over the death of Odin her beloved.

Whether

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BALDR-ODIN OR CRUCIFIXION PANEL.

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Whether here, in the panel, we see Odin, or Baldr, or Heimdall, or all the *three in one*, and so each impersonation or incarnation of the god confronting his fate in the general struggle "with the dark followers of the godess" (Hel), or Thor himself, the father of victories, the scene as a whole is the same, it is "The twilight of the gods." Baldr has been slain: the battle begins: "Odin goes to meet the wolf:" at the foot of the plane (see the engraving) "The mundane snake is coiled in jötun rage," he is the bane of Thor, who, in the final hurly, shall bruise his head and kill him, though he himself shall die nine paces off poisoned by the monster's venom-breath and slime:—

"Midgard's Veor (Thor) in his rage
Will slay the worm
Nine feet will go
Fiörgyn's son,*
bowed by the serpent,
who feared no foe."

Heimdall and Loki fight hand to hand and each the other slays: and so above the panel lies the headless creature, the incarnation of all evil, slain. Before the battle, when the ship fares from the east bringing Muspell's people o'er the sea and Loki steers:—

"The monster's kin
goes all with the wolf."

Against Odin (who rides foremost in the fight, with quivering spear in hand), comes on the wolf rushing with gaping maw; his upper jaw touches heaven, and his lower sweeps the earth, as is shewn in the figure at the top of this east plane of which, one great open mouth, upwards, appears to attack the holy place and the Triquetra; the other, downwards, in vain opposes and is opposed by the belted, bearded man, with staff. Here Odin is not seen, nor his

* Mother Earth; mother of Veor-Thor "who feared no foe," and of Frigg, Odin's wife.

horse

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horse, for the wolf swallows him at one gulp, as Loki forethreatened at the Œgisdrekka :—

"Why dost thou chafe so, Thor ?
Thou wilt not dare do so,
when with the wolf thou hast to fight,
and he *the all-powerful Father* swallows whole."

And as the Vala prophecied :—

"Then arises
Hlin's second grief,*
when Odin goes
with the wolf to fight,
and the bright slayer
of Beli with Surt.
Then will Frigg's
beloved fall."

But no sooner has the wolf swallowed Odin, than Vidar, the silent god, another son of Odin, or another incarnation of Odin, the avenger, confronts him, and placing his heavy iron shoe on the nether jaw of the beast, with one hand he seizes the upper jaw, rends his maw asunder and slays him, as in the Voluspa :—

"Then comes the great
victor—sire's son,
Vidar, to fight
with the deadly beast.
* * * * * *
Then avenges he his father.

And again in the lay of Vafthrûdnir :—

"The wolf will
the father of men devour ;
him Vidar will avenge :
He his cold jaws
will cleave,
in conflict with the wolf."

* Hlin, another name of Frigg, Odin's wife, whose first grief was the death of Baldr, her son ; her second, that of Odin himself when he went to meet the wolf, and when Frey, the slayer of Beli (the giant), went to fight with Surtur and be slain at Ragnarok.

How

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VIDAR EPISODE.

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How vigorously this episode is here sculptured, the engraving will shew. The attack of the wolf upon the holy forces, and his punishment are shewn by doubling his form; his fiendish nature by giving his body the form of a serpent (each double worm being plaited with the other making a fourfold plait), the upper head attacking the Triquetra, with full round living eye, and powerful teeth and jaws great in strength; the lower head, in the very action of defeat and death, being wrenched open by the mighty Vidar—his left arm forcing upwards, and his right foot crushing downwards, as he throws all his weight and god-like energy into the mortal fight by firmly pressing backwards on his staff which his hand grasps well up—until the monster's fangs drop powerless and his eye dims.

"Then shall another come,
yet mightier,
although I dare not
his name declare.
Few may see
further forth
than when Odin
meets the wolf."

As Prof. J. F. Hodgetts writes in his article in the Antiquary, Dec. 1882:—"It would seem as if in all mythology there were a sort of prophetic perception of what had to be completed in a holier, higher form in the mighty works which Christianity has taught us to contemplate. Let us not be accused of irreverence when we fancy that there are such traces of prophetic truth in these wild poetic teachings! But when Odin, in a wondrous weird song, tells his worshippers that he hung from a cursed tree three times three days, and saw the bitter evil of man! When the God-principle (under another name) descends into Jotunheim to combat the Giants, we are rather awe-struck at the evident harmony in some parts of what we know to be true, and what we have long ago rejected as false."

Let

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Let any one look upon the Baldr-Odin or Crucifixion scene engraved from our miraculously preserved cross. Is what the cross says true in every point to the Eddaic stories! and is it not wondrously true also to the very circumstance and event of the great Christian sacrifice:—"But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side, and forthwith came there out blood and water," St. John xix., v. 34; and as the arms of Jesus are stretched out wide do we not see that double stream, that sacred fountain for *all* men opened!

There is an old tradition, embodied in Chaucer's "Lamentations of Mary Madgalene" and taken from Origen, and afterwards represented in the miracle plays of Chester, Townley and Coventry, that the soldier (not centurion), who pierced our Lord's side, was a *blind** knight named Longias or Longinus; that

> "The purple flood eke from the harts vain,"

which:—

> "Doune railed right fast in most ruful wise,
> with Christal water brought out of Paradise,"

imbrued his hands as it flowed along the shaft of the spear and that upon accidentally rubbing his eyes his

---

* See also Chaucer's A.B.C. "La priere de nostre Dame," x.; also Townley's Mysteries, Surtees Society, 1836, p. 231.

Primus Tortor.—Let oone pryke him with a spere,
And if that it do him no dere
Then is his lyfe nere past.
Secundus Tortor.—This blynde knight may best do that.
Longeus.—Gar me not do bot I wote what.
Tercius Tortus.—Not but put up fast.
Longeus.—A, Lord, what may this be?
Ere was I blynde, now may I see;
Godes son, here me, Jesu!
For this trespas on me thou rew.
For, Lord, other men me gart,
That I the stroke unto the hart,
I see thou hynges here on hy
And dyse to fulfylle the prophecy.

There is a representation of Blind Longinus at Naworth Castle, in the oratory. (See Transactions, Part ii., Vol. iv., p. 514.) The same painting shews, amongst other figures of those present at the crucifixion, Mary Magdalene with long hair flowing down, and in front of her, with lid open, the box of precious ointment.

sight

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sight was restored. One of the soldiers, fearing to do the deed himself, guided the blind man's hand.

How close a parallel is here seen between Höder and Longias :—if the pagan Northern colonists of this coast saw the *blind* god piercing unwittingly with fatal spear their heroes side, no less clearly did the native British Christian see that he whose spear opened the fountain in the side of their Christ was a *Roman soldier** with shaven face who knew not what he did.

If the Angle saw Nanna weeping for her beloved, or the mother of Baldr holding forth the mistletoe branch on which she collected the tear drops of all who lamented her dear son, and fain would have him return from the halls of Hel to gladden the hearts of men, the Briton might see Mary Magdalene with her wealth of hair standing by her dead lord sorrowing, holding in her hand the Alabastron† filled with precious ointment for his burial, waiting till the body shall be taken down from the cross and the last sad honours done to Him she so much loved. St. Mark xv., v. 47 ; St. Luke xxiii., v. 55 ; St. Matthew xxvii., v. 61.

If *one* saw beneath this death scene the great serpent coiled which Thor should slay and be by its venom slain, the *other* saw that the seed of the woman should *bruise the*

* The face of the soldier is the only one on the cross which is shaven after the fashion of the Romans, between B.C. 300, and the time of Hadrian. Heimdal, all the horsemen, the Christ, Vidar, each one has a pointed beard distinctly seen. "The censors compelled Marcus Livius, who had been banished, on his restoration to the city, to be shaved before he came to the senate." (Smith's Gk. and Rn. Antiquities.)

† The Alabastron was a vessel used for containing perfumes or ointments; it was usually made of the Onyx Alabaster, which was considered to be better adapted than any other stone for the preservation of perfumes. (Plin. xiii., 3.) Hence the name. "These vessels were of a tapering shape, and very often had a long narrow neck, which was sealed; so that when Mary, the sister of Lazarus, is said by St. Mark (xiv. 3) to break the alabaster-box of ointment for the purpose of anointing our Saviour, it appears probable that she only broke the extremity of the neck which was thus closed." (Smith's Gk. and Rn. Antiquities.) The figure of Mary Magdalene holding this tapering Alabastron in her left hand is very faithfully engraved. I took a rubbing of the whole cross, after the South Kensington moulds had been taken, and when the stone was most free from lichens, and from this rubbing and the photographs Prof. Petersen has been able to give us absolutely correct representations of this and the Heimdal, Vidar, and gagged wolf episodes.

serpent's

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serpent's head, tho' that serpent should bruise his heel; if the jaws of the great wolf swallowed Odin, the sepulchre was opened for Jesus and he entered the jaws of Hel; if Vidar wrenched asunder the maw of the monster and overcame him, God the Son, after the "harrowinge of Helle," after he had visited the spirits in prison, rose again victorious over death and the grave, heralding a new era, a new kingdom of brightness and beauty, purity and love.

> "There shall the righteous
> people dwell
> and for evermore
> happiness enjoy."

So says the Voluspa, so teaches the Christian.

And now we come to the last, the north side of the cross, of which the drawing is beautifully clear. There is again a central figure, in this case a horseman armed with a spear as we saw the horseman on the south side; *beneath* him is a like armed horseman upside down as we saw on the west side; above him is a strange uncommon figure taking up fully half the sculptured space; its head is downwards having mighty teeth and fiery eye; its tail above is the sign of the Blessed Trinity; its body has eight pairs of wings attached to it by eight rings, the rings passing alternately over the wing bone and under the vertebræ, and under the wing bone and over the vertebræ, the lowest ring passing under the wing.

Surtur has come from the south

> "On the wings of tempest riding
> Surtur spreads his fiery spell."

and he and his warriors have cast their flames over all the earth, the dynasty of Odin is overthrown; but there is to arise from the conflagration a new heaven and a new earth purified by fire—hither Baldr shall return from Hel:—

> "unsown shall
> the fields bring forth,
> all evil be amended

Baldr

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Baldr shall come ;
Hödr and Baldr,
the heavenly gods,
Hropts glorious dwellings shall inhabit."

So the eight winged orbs, the perfect number in one creature, rushing down over all things, restrained or held in order by the "three in one," and so the Baldr-Christ returning from Hel and riding up the rainbow in majesty after Æstra has opened the gate at the glorious resurrection.

Thus we may either see in the central figure Surtur riding at the head of the fiery-flying sons of Muspell (the personification of fire), whilst the horseman beneath tells of the fall of Odin and the power taken from Gungnir, the death spear in Odin's hand, or (which is better, for the lower horseman is in active motion, not overthrown, and is exactly like the upper one in every detail and even attitude) we may see in the lower horseman, on this plane, another representation of that Odin who, on the west side, rode down to Hel's dark home, and who as Baldr, and Odin, and Thor, each, and all in one, was fated to go thither at the last battle ; and in the central figure, the upper horseman, we may see the same personification of the Deity riding back in majesty to rule and dwell in peace in

"Gimill-gold-bedecked than the sun brighter."

The same figure being doubled and two positions shewn on the same plane, as is often the case in ancient art, Pagan and Christian. Below the horsemen is the eternal endless knot the last home from which none return until Christ or Baldr leads the way.

As on the Ruthwell Cross the song of Cæd-mon was written in Runes, so on the Gosforth Cross is "The Vala's Prophecy," and much of the god-lore gathered together in Sæmund's Edda carved in stone, sculptured in relief,—parallels are drawn and contrasts shewn between the heathen and the Christian faiths:—Ragnarök, "the twilight of

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of the Gods" is graven in stone—a miracle of art—and the new heaven and new earth are shewn to be those in which Christ takes the place of Odin, and Thor, and Heimdall, and Vidar, and Baldr, and even of the great Surtur himself.

Much more might be written. Many deep truths lie hid in this "sermon stone."

These episodes have never before been recognized, and I rejoice that I have thus been made an humble pioneer in a cause worthy of the efforts of the more learned. How successfully *pure heathendom* is used on this monument as a means of teaching the Gospel, may be clearly seen by comparing it, beginning at the west, the Loki side, with the prayer of the priest and people in the Baptismal service when the child is grafted into Christ's body—"that he may have power and strength to have victory and to triumph, against *the devil*, *the world*, and *the flesh*."

On the west face we have a *central Hemidall-Christ*,* the incarnation of the Deity, holding at bay the dread offspring of Satan, whilst Loki† himself lies bound beneath, and

* Heimdall was he who brought day to the world, whose path from Asgard to the outer worlds is by the rainbow or the milky way, he is the watchman who can hear the faintest sound afar off, even the grass growing on the mountain tops; who summons the gods by the blast of his horn, kept under the sacred tree; in the hour of danger he himself assists the mild ones in their struggle with the giants. Thus the sculptured planes have the central figure as it were on the top of the rainbow whose one end joins Valhalla the other Hel's domain, and thus on the south side the divine hart from whose horns the dew drops fall into the rivers which water the dales, stands upon the arch of the bow; the wolf bound lying at the *waters head* towards Asgard; the howling wolf and hissing snake below coming up from Hel.

† There are known to the world only *two other* representations in stone of Loki bound, one is at Kirkby Stephen Church, Westmorland. (See Part i., Vol. iv., of the Transactions of this Society, opposite page 187. The other at Vinding Church, Veile Amt, Jutland, Denmark, which will be published in Professor Stephen's lecture on Northern Mythology early this year. I saw the Kirkby Stephen stone on the visit of the Society to that place, and from it I was led to the discovery of the bound traitor on the Gosforth Cross. Since this discovery the Vinding Loki has been found and communicated to Professor Stephens who has kindly sent me a woodcut which shews the binding—by the wrists and ankles, and round the neck by a twisted cable—of the giant, but in this case apparently to a horizontal bar which he clutches with his hands. In "Asgard and the Gods" published by Sonnenschein and Allen, 1880, opposite page 293, the modern artist has pictured Sigun with her poison cup in an attitude much resembling the Gosforth panel, this I had not seen when I first detected the figure kneeling by Loki's side; I thought the figure might be that of him who fastened the gyves to

Odin

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Odin the father, approaches the future. The *devil* overcome.

On the south side we have a *central divine Hart* triumphantly walking through the world unhurt by the slime and venom of the great worm of the middle earth, or by the howling dog;—the Christ, the fountain of living waters, the incarnation of the deity who below rides armed to battle with and to "overcome the *world*."

On the east side we have a *central Thor*,* *Odin, or Baldr-Christ* who fights the last great battle and overcomes the *flesh* which is crucified and pierced with the spear; who, though the jaws of Hel gape wide and swallow him, in another personification—Vidar the Silent†—he who opened not his mouth before his foes—rends asunder those very gates, victorious over death and the grave, and as we see on the north side‡ rides on the everlasting conqueror through His glorious resurrection.

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the rock, and that he held the bolt with his left hand whilst with the other he hammered it home. After the stone had been cleaned, it was plainly seen that the left hand held a hollow bowl and that the figure was that of a woman with abundant hair; from photographs sent to Professor Stephens he recognized this beautiful story of woman's love and faithfulness before I had again been able to visit the cross. He also at the same time recognized Heimdall with his horn.

* As an example of the way in which the early Christian teachers made use of the traditions and beliefs concerning the Pagan deities, and like St. Paul continually announced "whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you," and especially as shewing an illustration of how thoroughly St. Michael and his host who fought against the dragon and his host, took the place of Thor, the dragon-slayer, my attention has been drawn by the Rev. T. Lees to the fact that the church of *Kirkby-Thor*, in Westmorland, is dedicated to St. Michael. What an interesting chapter in the history of the district is opened up by the simple mention of the place name and the church dedication, Kirkby-Thor, St. Michael's Church!

† Writing concerning the Vidar episode above the crucifixion, I learned from Professor Stephens that he "had already forestalled me," each having independently come to the same conclusion by different modes.

‡ My first formed opinion (expressed at our Egremont meeting) concerning the horsemen was that the upper one represented the triumphant Christ, or the Christian Faith. The lower one, the heathen faith, or death, overcome. Odin with his spear of death, man and horse upside down, may well by some be taken to be death on the pale horse carrying his dart, here overthrown and conquered—cast down to his final perdition by the entrance into the world, the life, the death and the resurrection of Christ. Still, I think that the horseman is always the same—twice doubly shewn even as Odin's horse Sleipnir had eight legs—*once* seen (west side) going down to the place where Utgard Loki lay bound, and (the same figure turned round on south side) coming back from the tomb of prophecy to the world's battle. *Again* seen (North side, lower horseman) coming up from Hel, and (upper horseman) riding in majesty, the conqueror; for Heimdal, and Baldr, and Odin, are the same god-principle in three persons.

Notes.

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NOTES.

In examining the fac-similies of the Irish MSS., Part I., published by command of Her Majesty, 1874. I was struck by the similarity of one figure in illustration xi. to the head of the winged creature on the north side of this cross. The illuminated page is from the Book of Kells, St. Matthew xxvii., 38. "Tunc crucifixerant X R I cum eo duos latrones," and the figure is to the left of the page; it is a monster, head downwards with full eye, dilated nostril and fierce teeth, one in either jaw, trying to swallow the Holy Shamrock, whose stem below buds out into palm fronds which curve upwards and inwards around the sacred symbol's stem, like flames of fire. Around the neck of the creature, and behind his up-pricked ears, is a sort of ornamental collar at the throat having the Triquetra, in shape like those upon our cross, not the shamrock.

Again, in illustration viii. on the illuminated *Z* of *Z*achariae sacerdotiis apparuit Angelus, &c., from St. John's Gospel, I noticed the dog with the red lolling tongue, and action so like to the dog on the south side of our cross, having under his feet lacertine interlacing. Other similarities in design made a strong impression on my mind. I then wrote again to Dr. Stephens with the result that he cordially accepted my suggestions, and declared in a letter to me that the style of the work, and the character of the symbols, shewed the deep influence of Keltic art on the Northumbrian through the great Irish-Scotic missions.

At the Carlisle meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, the Professor, after having seen the cross and heard the paper read by me, and prepared with the valuable assistance of Dr. Parker as to details (without whose labour and care it would have been difficult to have obtained those details so absolutely correctly), gave it as his opinion that the date of this cross could not be later than that of the equally grand Ruthwell Cross (7th century), on which Christ is "Baldor;" and of the Kirkby Stephen stone, and he said that these two representations (the only ones then known) of the Devil as Loki must be exceedingly early, as they were *survivals* in the same way that the word *Baldor-Christ* on the Ruthwell Cross was a survival. That the oldest purely Christian art represented the evil one by a serpent or dragon, or (as at Bewcastle and Ruthwell) by a couple of swine—not by a *bound* man-fiend or *human* chief devil—but that Cædmon (7th century) and other old English poets, following Scandinavian traditions, represented the man-foe

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man-foe as bound, and that out of the fifty drawings in the unique Cædmon Codex, five shewed the devil as bound, but variously treated according to the fancy of the artist.

At the same meeting Dr. Parker quoted from Giraldus Cambrensis (1185) to shew that sculptured crosses were sufficiently ancient to be forgotten and despised in the twelfth century, there being at that time, at a place called Margan, a cross used as a bridge over a rivulet, and also other fragments of crosses beautifully ornamented with fretwork.

A cast of the cross has been taken for the South Kensington Museum, and the cross has been protected by an iron railing.

The quotations from the Edda are taken from Thorpe's translation published by Trubner & Co., 1866.

I desire to thank most heartily for their kind help in many ways, the President of our Society, the Rev. Dr. Simpson; the Rev. T. Lees; our learned editor, the Mayor of Carlisle, whose libraries have been open to me; the Rev. H. D. Rawnsley, who allows me here to reproduce his sonnet composed after hearing the paper read at Carlisle, and the remarks of Dr. Stephens.

We are not wiser than the seers of old,
Our fathers—they twelve hundred years agone
Hewed from its silent place this prophet stone,
And bade the sacred Yggdrasil uphold
A Baldr-Christ whose triumphs should be told
In Pagan picture,—here the battle won
By Horn's blast,—there the Horse with Death thereon
Cast down for years whose coil is endless rolled,
Preacher of Christ, stone-lipped, and not in vain,
Preacher of Woman's love to help her Lord
By faithful tendance, yea, though earth should quake;
For lo! her feet upon the bruised snake,
Here Mary stands beside the Christ in pain!
There Loki's queen prevents with cup the poison pour'd!

Largest Fragment.—The fragment (probably of another cross) has the divine hart trampling on the worm above the plaited body of the adder, and beneath what Dr. Stephen recognizes as the fishing scene thus represented in the lay of Hymir;—

21.—The mighty Hymir drew,
he alone,
two whales up
with his hook;
but at the stern abaft
Veor (Thor) cunningly
made him a line.
22.—Fixed on the hook
the shield of men,
the serpent's slayer,
the ox's head.
Gaped at the bait
the foe of gods,
the encircler beneath
of every land.

23.—

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23.—Drew up boldly
the mighty Thor
the worm with venom glistening,
up to the side;
with his hammer struck,
on his foul head's summit,
like a rock towering,
the wolt's own brother.
24.—The icebergs resounded,
the caverns howled,
the old earth
shrank together:
At length the fish
back into ocean sank.*

* In the prose, Edda (p. 445) the giant, took out his knife and cut Thor's line

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ART. XXXIX.—*Notes on Gosforth Church and Churchyard, and on Sculptured Fragments there.*—By CHAS. A. PARKER, M.D.

Read at Keswick, October the 5th, 1882.

THE quiet country churchyard of Gosforth, which contains, besides the celebrated cross, the heads of no less than three others, lies at the foot of a gently sloping hill, about three miles from the sea. The parish church, dedicated to St. Mary, is a plain unpretentious building; the bell turret bearing the date 1654, which is also the date of the north wall. This bell turret has three arches for bells, the top one is older than the others, and is said to have formerly been on the east end of the nave, *i.e.*, for a sanctus bell.

Above the door at the west end are the figures 1789, in which year the church underwent considerable alterations which destroyed nearly all external marks of antiquity. Inside, however, the ancient chancel arch remains, the piers of which are evidently part of the original building. They are apparently twelfth century work. The arch itself is pointed and said to be of the time of Edward III. The south pier has carved upon its cap three faces, bearded and moustached, connected by a figure of 8 twist, with a beading upon it. These faces are all equal in size and on the same level, and may possibly represent the Trinity. The sculpture on the north pier cap is more irregular. The centre face is highest, the moustache and beard being very distinct. On the east side (of the cap) is a similar face, the twist is only partly shown, and looks like a hood; while on the west side, instead of a face, there is a half length figure with folded hands. In the churchyard is the cap of a pillar of similar character, but without faces. The church

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church of 1654 consisted simply of a nave and chancel, with walls about eleven feet high, and was thatched. The seats were forms.

In 1789 a square porch with gabled roof was built on to the west end, the walls were heightened and the porch carried up to contain a stair leading to a large and unsightly gallery. The chancel is said to have been lengthened, shortened, and finally lengthened again in 1858. The south wall of the nave was rebuilt in 1759. There was a pointed north doorway to the chancel which was walled up in 1759, and a door made in the extreme north-east corner inside the communion rails. In 1858 this first door was discovered and opened out, and in it were found several of the carved fragments. The later door was then walled up and the chancel lengthened, and a north transept added utterly out of proportion to the rest of the church, with octagonal tower containing a newel stair leading to another gallery. In 1879 the vestry was enlarged, and a large pointed arch opened into it from the chancel to contain an organ. The old barrel organ was then abolished, and in order to let out the sound of the new instrument an oblong hole, 12 feet by 5 feet, was cut out of the east wall of the transept. The pitiful result of all these alterations and "improvements" may be imagined.

As before stated three cross heads of freestone are preserved in the churchyard along with other fragments.*

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1799, in an article signed "Carbo," says, that the great cross

"Formerly, as is reported, had a fellow column at about seven feet distance, with an horizontal stone between the two on which was rudely cut the figure of a large antique sword. This stone has been taken away within memory, and the cross which crowned the two columns, (evidently a mistake for second column,) after that column was cruelly cut down and converted into a style for a sundial, was put into the parson's garden at Gosforth and there remains."

* See these on the lithograph, *ante*, opposite p. 373.

Samuel

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Samuel Jefferson in his "Allerdale above Derwent," quotes, without giving his authority, that on the column which was destroyed were two indistinct "figures of horses and men." This act of barbarism was probably committed when the church was so much altered in 1789.

Of the three cross heads, that one which most resembles the head of the great cross has three limbs remaining and half of the circle.* On each limb is sculptured an interlaced pattern in relief, and on a circle a twist or plait, while on the end of the cross bar is more interlaced work, formed by one continuous line. It measures about 1 foot 10 inches in height, and has a tongue on its lower extremity measuring 5 inches more. By the side of this fragment lies a ridge or coping stone with a square socket hole in the top of it, into which the tongue of the cross roughly fits; so this cross possibly was on the gable of the church—but as this is the cross head which was kept "in the parsons garden," it is more likely to belong to the column destroyed in 1789.

The second cross head is more massive.† The upper limb and half the circle or "glory" are gone, the lower is broader than the others, measuring nearly 11 inches across at the base, and is ornamented with an interlaced pattern in relief, closely resembling that on the north side of the standing cross. This pattern extended down the shaft more or less, as the fracture runs through it. The horizontal limbs are ornamented with interlaced work of a simple form. There has been a slightly projecting boss in the centre, surrounded by a ring of cable moulding. The only part of the circle which remains perfect is very beautiful, having a rope-like twist running along each edge, and the same double vertebrate pattern of six or seven pieces which

* This is the upper fragment on the lithograph, between the south and east views of the cross.

† Both faces of this cross head are on the lithograph between the west and north views of the cross.

appears

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appears on the east and west sides of the great cross, here apparently signifying the "glory" of Christ in overcoming *the Flesh* on this cross.

On the other face the remains of the boss are more distinct. The cable moulding runs round it. On the lower limb is the same interlaced pattern with the fracture running through it. Two quarters of the circle remain, ornamented with an interlaced or plaited pattern, on one quarter treble, on the other quadruple. The transverse arms have lost their outer ends; on each is carved what appears to be the body of a snake knotted upon itself, the tails being next the boss. These serpents were probably headless, signifying the victory of Christ's cross over the evil one. This fragment measures 23 inches across by 13½ inches high.

The third cross head is much smaller and of quite a different character.* It has a large circular centre on which is a sort of star composed of six radiating leaves, on each limb is a small incised circle.

It is said that the "horizontal stone" with a sword cut upon it, now forms the lintel of a door of a house in the village, called Gosforth Gate. If so the carved side is either cut away or hidden by the masonry. This stone was very likely an ordinary sepulchral slab of the 13th century, which had been placed between the two crosses in later times. Three of these slabs are still to be seen in the churchyard.

The sundial mentioned by "Carbo" still remains. It is an *octagonal* pillar rather more than 3 feet high, thickest at its upper end, standing in a plain square socket close to the gate of the churchyard. This socket has evidently not been made for the dial, as it is 2 feet 9 inches by 2 feet 7 inches square, nearly 2 feet thick, and the *square* hole in the centre is much too large for the pillar which stands in it. The distance between the dial and the cross now standing is 15 feet, which coincides with the space between the

* Given on the lithograph below the first cross head.

pillars

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UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

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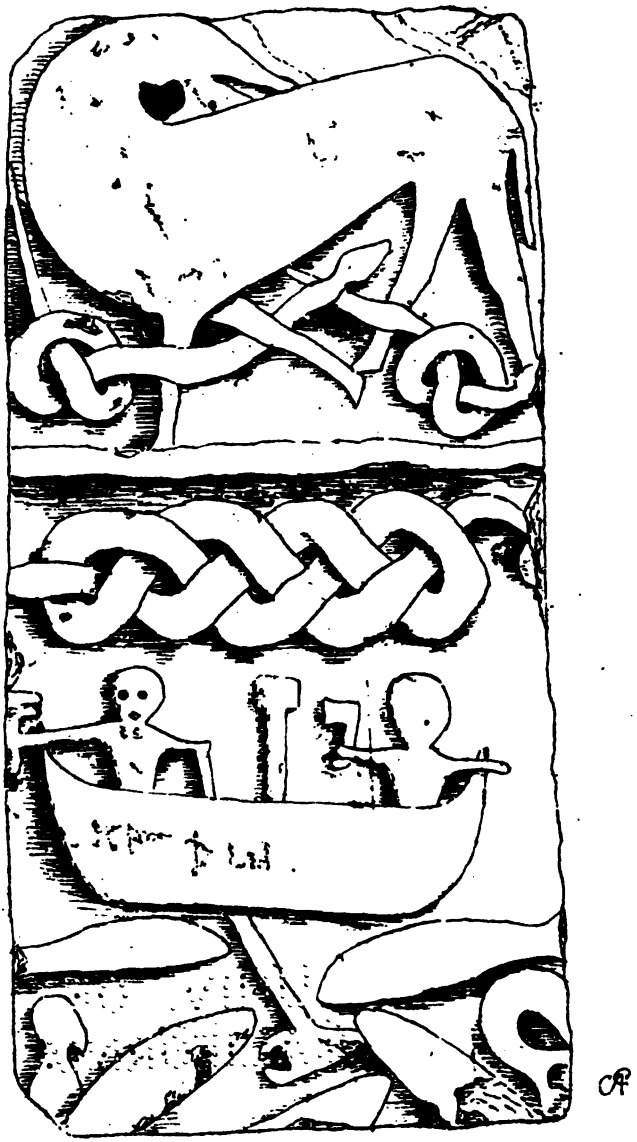
Fig 1.



STONE FROM GOSFORTH CHURCH YARD.

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Fredk Dangerfield Lith London 1697

pillars at Penrith. The top of the socket is worn hollow by heedless feet, and all traces of carving, if any ever existed, are gone.

By the north-east side of this socket lay a stone with its upper surface just level with the ground, forming a sort of step. This when heaved up in March last by me disclosed on its under side the remarkable sculpture shewn in the illustration.*

This stone is of oblong shape, measuring 27½ inches by 13 inches, and is 5½ inches thick. The upper and lower corners on the left hand side have been bevelled off, and the right side has been cruelly chipped away, apparently to make it of more convenient form for a step. The sculpture is in high relief, and is divided into two unequal panels by a transverse line. In the upper panel is a hart, the horns not seen, trampling upon the serpent which is knotted twice. It is doubtful, owing to the fracture of the stone, whether there are not two serpents, if so the head of the second touches the heel of the hart.

In the lower panel is a knotted snake, and beneath a boat or ship, with short thick mast, on the top of which is a "crow's nest." To the left of the mast is the figure of a man facing the spectator, with his right arm extended over the prow, and grasping a hammer. In his left hand he holds a line. To the right is another figure, grasping in its uplifted right hand a hatchet. Below the boat is the line, cut, on the end of it an ox's head, surrounding which are several enormous fish or other marine monsters.

Among the legends of the Scandinavian mythology is the following:—The god Thor wished to catch and destroy the great serpent or Midgard worm, which lay at the bottom of the ocean and encircled the world. Having no bait, he asked his enemy Hyme the giant for his largest ox, and having received it he twisted off its head and baited the hook with it. The great serpent rose and took the tempt-

* Drawn in the middle of the lithograph, *ante* p. 373.

ing

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ing morsel, and Thor pulled it to the surface, but the struggles of the serpent were so violent that the bottom of the boat gave way. The god stood in his divine strength upon the bottom of the sea, and again pulled his enemy up, and then it was that Hyme, desperate with terror at the sight of the monstrous serpent, lifted his hatchet and cut the line. The worm sank back again into the billows and escaped.

The story of the stone is now plain :—Above, Christ as the heavenly hart, which is one of the earliest symbols of Him, tramples upon and subdues the serpent; and below the transverse line is the serpent again conquered and head-bruised. We see Hyme with uplifted hatchet, and Asathor with extended arm grasping Miolnir—shortshafted. We see the severed line and the ox's head which the worm or serpent has seized. The giant is alarmed. Not a moment is to be lost, so he swings his knife or axe and cuts the line over. "Between the Ettin and the Hammer—God," says Professor Stephens, "is the mast with its crow's nest or look-out basket at the top, a feature of great antiquity also in the classical lands." Not only is the mast highly interesting, but also the shape of Hyme's weapon and of Thor's hammer. This latter is not quite perfect on one side, as being close to the edge of the stone. The whole ship is costly, as the oldest stone picture of a boat used by our "barbarian" Angle forefathers which has come down to us.

The Christian teacher has therefore said to his pagan countrymen :—"Abandon your false belief. Even your famous god Thunor could not slay the great Midgard Worm. But our Christ *did* bruise the serpent's head, and hereafter giveth us life everlasting!"

It can scarcely be doubted that this stone was part of the missing cross shaft, especially when we compare the sculpture with that on the cross still standing. Professor Stephens is of opinion that this block cannot be latter than the 7th century.

There

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There is very little tradition to be gathered concerning these stones. Higher up the hill, in a field still called Chapel Croft, about a quarter of a mile from the present church, is the site of an ancient chapel, some stones of which were still lying about within the memory of the older parishioners. About five and twenty years ago a deep trench was dug in the floor of the church, for the purpose of putting down hot water pipes. In cutting this many bones were disturbed which were at once noticed to be of enormous size. Several thigh bones are said to have been nearly 2 feet in length, and I have been repeatedly assured that one gigantic femur measured 2 feet 2 inches.

The village stocks formerly stood close to the cross, and the last man that was confined in them was a person of the name of Sewell, for climbing up the cross and sitting on the top of it, on Sunday morning when "t' priest" was late owing to Saturday night's potations. The villagers call the two parallel figures on the east side Adam and Eve, and it is curious with what tenacity they adhere to the belief that there was once another head on the top of the existing cross, but set on transversely.

Of the fragments of 13th century sepulchral slabs which remain at Gosforth, one is the rudest of any I have seen, being covered with heavy pick marks, and simply having incised upon it—the shears.

The second is very thick and is flat on the left side, but bevelled on the right side and at the head end, like one lately found in situ at Dearham against the wall of the church inside. It bears a cross, having an incised head patée with long shaft and calvary steps, and on the left side of the cross are the shears. I see no trace of a book, but below the calvary steps is a sort of ornament formed of curved lines.

These two slabs formed the lintel of the vestry door, and were found in 1879. The third slab is in six pieces, and was found in pulling down the old rectory in 1879, to build which

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which it has been deliberately broken up. It is highly finished, and seems to be of late early English date. Each side slopes away in curved mouldings with two rows of nailhead pattern; on the top is an inner border of nailhead and within that the shears, below which are nine small holes set in a diamond form, with two lines proceeding from them down the slab. This has very much the appearance of a lighted torch.

These slabs are all about 5 feet in length. Small fragments of two others remain, showing floriated cross heads, one of which is in relief.

Beside them lie two stones of what has been a handsome arch decorated with a bold zigzag Norman moulding. Also some pieces of tracery.

There are two small fragments which have upon each of them, in high relief, a circle and cross.

Over the window at the west end is a sort of bracket built into the wall, having a bold beading round it. Evidently a fragment of an earlier building.

Other fragments are said to be in the wall of the church but hidden by the roughcast.

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ART. XL. — *Crosthwaite Church, Keswick.* By A. W. FRANKS, ESQ., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.*

THE church of Crosthwaite in Cumberland, the mother or parish church of the town of Keswick, like many of the churches of important towns situated within districts which have been principally inhabited by a Celtic population, is at some distance from the town, as if the Saxon inhabitants, who may be presumed to have occupied the town, had selected a spot at some distance from a church probably of older foundation.

The church is dedicated to St. Kentigern, Bishop of Glasgow, a saint of Royal British origin better known as St. Mungo.

Like most of the parish churches of that district it preserves little of architectural interest, but it exceeds most of its neighbours in size. Its style is Perpendicular and it is poor and bald in its details, though handsome and spacious in its proportions. Although, however, of no great importance to the architectural student, it contains a few minor points of interest to the archæologist, while it attracts all travellers from its containing the tomb of Southey. On the left hand of most of the windows, both outside and inside, I observed some remarkable circles inclosing crosses, no doubt the crism or consecration crosses of the building; in form they resembled a cross pattée inclosed in a circle. Near the east end of the chancel on the south side is an open altar tomb; the upper part is a slab with the brasses of Sir John Ratclif knight and Dame Alice his wife, dated 1527. He is represented in armour,

* Re-printed by permission of Mr. Franks from Proc. S.A., 2nd series; Vol. 2 p. 189. On the occasion of this Society visiting Crosthwaite in 1882, it was found that Mr. Franks' paper was unknown; and that the inscription was still supposed illegible.

and

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and she with the usual pedimental head dress of the period, and with furred sleeves; from her waist hangs a pomander by a chain united to her belt by three roses. Both the figures wear crosses of a *tau* form hanging by chains around their necks. The exact shape of the cross is not to be made out owing to the positions of the hands of the figures, but on comparing it with other examples there can be little doubt that it was of the *tau* form. Above are two shields: the one in the dexter corner bears the arms of Ratcliff without a difference, the second two lions passant for Sutton of Dudley; Dame Alice having been a daughter of Sir Edmond Sutton of Dudley, Lord of Dudley in Warwickshire, by Maud his second wife, daughter to Thomas, Lord Clifford. The two lower shields are placed with the points towards the figures, notwithstanding which the arms, in one of them at least, are engraved the opposite way, one being Sutton as before, the other Ratcliffe with a rose as a difference. The latter may be intended for the coat of Sir John Ratcliffe, who was the son of a younger son of Sir Thomas Ratcliffe of Derwentwater. On examining the arms I was struck with their anomalous execution and strange appearance, which seemed not like modern work and still less like old; the tinctures being indicated moreover by drawing. This seemed, however, explained by the head of Sir John Ratcliffe, which has unquestionably been restored at some former time, perhaps by one of the Earls of Derwentwater at the commencement of the eighteenth century, at which time the arms may likewise have been renewed. Below the slab in which the brasses are set, and which rests on short pillars, are now placed two interesting effigies of the fifteenth century representing, it is said, a Derwentwater and his wife. These are unfortunately so placed as not to be well seen, which is, however, partly compensated by their being thus to a certain extent screened from casual injury. In the windows are a few remains of stained glass; the principal piece is part of a figure of St. Anthony

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Anthony with his *tau* cross. It is not impossible that this may have been originally in a window of a chantry in which the Ratcliffs were buried, and that the crosses which the two figures on the brasses hold have some connection with the saint. The other fragments are a female head, supposed to be St. Mary Magdalene, and a coat of arms.

One of the most curious remains in the church is the old font. It is of the latter part of the fourteenth century, and has an octagonal bowl resting on a quadrangular pedestal, which is chamfered at the corners, and ornamented with panel tracery. The four principal faces of the bowl are ornamented with shields, the four others with ornamental devices, chiefly masks and scrolls of foliage. On the chamfered edge, below the panels of the bowl, is engraved a black-letter inscription, which the clerk assured me had not hitherto been deciphered, owing, no doubt, to the mutilated condition of the original. This excited my curiosity, but I pored over the half-obliterated letters in vain. At length, after some study an idea occurred to me which led to the solution of the riddle. The panels, as I have said, are eight in number, four with shields and four with ornaments. I observed that the portions of inscriptions below the shields all seemed to begin with S. This, it occurred to me, might be the beginning of the word *Scutum*, and the inscriptions under those panels be merely explanatory of the shields: On this hypothesis the inscription presented no very great difficulties. Beginning with the shields we find:—1. Large shield with emblem of the Holy Trinity, with roses in the lower angles, legend very much obliterated, probably—

S [cut. sc'e trinitatis.]

2. Large shield with the lily pot,

Scut' : m'ris : dei :

in the angles below the shield two small shields, one bearing

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ing two bars, a canton, no doubt for Derwentwater; the other fretty, perhaps a chief. 3. Large shield quarterly, 1 and 4 England, 2 and 3 France semy; in the lower angles two more shields, one charged with a crescent, perhaps the badge of Percy, the other with three luces hauriant, Lucy; legend

Sc' : reg' Anglie.

4. Large shield with the emblems of the passion, two of which for want of space seem to be represented in the corners below the shield,

Sc' : d'ni : xpi : (?)

The words below the four remaining panels continued make the following legend :—

Orate : p : a'ia : d'ni : Thom : deskhede : olim : ecclesie : huius : vicarii.

I have been unable to find this name among those of the vicars of Crosthwaite, but the list as published is so scanty that it is not a matter of surprise that his name should be omitted.

The vicar, no doubt, took his name from the place of his birth, Eskhead, probably a village at the head of one of the numerous rivers Esk which are to be found in the North of England.

If we are right in considering the crescent to represent the Percys, it is probable that the font was made subsequently to the marriage of Henry, first Earl of Northumberland, with Maud sister and heir of Anthony Lord Lucy, about 1385, and previous to her death a few years afterwards. This would to a certain extent agree with the list of vicars, in which there occurs a great gap subsequent to a dispute as to the right of presentation about 1360.

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ART. XLI.—*Church Bells in the Deanery of Brampton.* By the Rev. H. WHITEHEAD, M.A.

Communicated at Keswick, Oct. 5th, 1882.

BEWCASTLE.

IN Cumberland, as a rule, though not without exceptions, the nearer the border the fewer the church bells. The border parish of Bewcastle for an unknown length of time had no church bell. Bishop Nicolson, who visited this parish on July 30, 1703, states in his *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlile* (p. 56) that he found

"no Bell, to call them in to Divine Service."

Some fifty years later, in a marginal note to the bishop's MS., on the page relating to Bewcastle, Chancellor Waugh says:—

"Nor have they yet any Bell."

The terrier of 1828 informs us when the want was supplied:

"There is a good Church Bell, purchased by the parish about the year 1785. Prior to that time the Church had no bell."

The same story is told, with a sequel, in the terrier of 1868:

"A Church Bell was purchased by the parish about the year 1785, before which there appears to have been none. This bell was broken and a new one purchased by the parish in 1845."

The new bell, which is still in use, is blank, *i.e.*, without inscription, date, stamp, or mark of any kind. It is 19$\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and therefore weighs nearly 2 cwt., the weight of a bell being approximately known from its diameter at mouth (Taylor's *Bell Catalogue*, p. 25).

One would like to know whether Bewcastle prior to 1785 had always been without a church bell. On this point the experienced archæologist who drew up the terrier of 1868, the

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the late Rev. J. Maughan, rector of Bewcastle from 1836 to 1874, doubtless suspended his judgment. All he would say was :—"There *appears* to have been none." Even had he been aware of the testimony of Bishop Nicolson and Chancellor Waugh on the subject he would probably have said that he would be glad to know what Edward VI.'s commissioners had reported concerning the church goods of Bewcastle in 1552. Unfortunately the Cumberland portion of Edward VI.'s Inventory of Church Goods, still preserved in the Public Record Office, is in this condition :

"The original MS. consists of 20 leaves, ten pages, each leaf being destroyed for about ¼ on the inner side, so that the pages are alternately deficient on the left and right hand side; in the former cases the names of the churches are all lost."—(*Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle*, p. 314.)

In every case where the name of a parish in Brampton deanery has been preserved the information given by the inventory concerning the bells will be noticed in this paper. Bewcastle, however, is among the missing names.

BRAMPTON.

Brampton has six bells, the only ring* in the deanery, and one of the few rings in the county, consisting of—

			ft.	in.			cwt.	qr.	lbs.
Tenor	...	diameter	3	1¼	...	weight	9	1	5
No. 5	...	,,	2	10¼	...	,,	7	0	14
No. 4	...	,,	2	8¼	...	,,	6	1	7
No. 3	...	,,	2	6¼	...	,,	5	2	14
No. 2	...	,,	2	4	...	,,	4	3	0
Treble	...	,,	2	2	...	,,	4	0	0

The weight of the tenor is taken from the founder's account; the other weights are reckoned from the diameters. On each bell is inscribed

T MEARS OF LONDON FECIT,

* A set of bells is properly called a "ring;" a performance upon them a peal (*Church Bells of Rutland*, by T. North, F.S.A., p. 16.)

and

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and on Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5,

EX DONO THOMÆ RAMSHAY
BRAMPTON VICARII
MDCCCXXVI.

Mr. Ramshay, vicar of Brampton from 1795 to 1841, gave these four bells on the occasion of the enlargement of the church by an extension to the east and the addition of a tower at the west end. The church thus enlarged was consecrated on July 21st, 1828. The tenor, as shewn by Mr. Mears's account, still remaining in the parish-chest, was bought by the parish, an allowance being made for "old bell, 126lbs." The treble is said by some old inhabitants to have been given by Mrs. Ramshay, the wife of the vicar. But in Parson and White's Cumberland Directory for 1829 (p. 414), Brampton church is noticed as having

"six bells, five of them being the handsome donation of the Rev Thomas Ramshay, vicar of this parish."

Therefore, as this directory was compiled at a time when it was easy to ascertain the facts of the case, it is probable that the treble, though not inscribed with his name, was the gift of the vicar. This bell has always been called by the ringers, and is still called, the "church bell," because formerly, before the new church was built in 1878, it was the bell used for the week day services, the verger ringing it with a rope which descended through the floor of the ringing chamber to the basement of the tower. The name may outlive the remembrance of its origin. The traditions of the belfry should be collected whilst veteran past-ringers, amongst whom are two of the original band of 1828, Mr. Lee of West Hill, and Mr. J. Armstrong of Denton Nook, still survive to relate them. It would be well, for instance, if the names of all past-ringers, with the period of each one's service, could be recovered and recorded on the walls of the ringing chamber. Such a record, we may be sure, would in time to come be interesting to generations of ringers

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ringers yet unborn, and not to them only, but also to all the parishioners. Bell-ringers have too often been regarded as of little or no account. Hence the uncomfortable, dark, and sometimes even dangerous chambers, to which they have been relegated. Bishop Nicolson, writing of Dalston church, as it was in his day, says (p. 19) :—

"The ringers are in continual hazard."

The Brampton ringers are in no such case, having as spacious and convenient a ringing chamber as they could desire. Besides the ring the parish possesses another bell from the same foundry, dated 1883, which is placed over the western gable of the ancient chancel in the burial ground. In Mr. Mears's account for this bell there is an item of allowance for "old bell 56 lbs." There is a commonly accepted tradition that an old Brampton church bell was taken at some unknown time to Hexham, and is there still, bearing an inscription which shews whence it came. Such traditions are often met with, and sometimes have a germ of fact, at least enough to enable one to account for the legend. No church bell from Brampton is now at Hexham. But on the fifth bell of the Hexham ring is inscribed

THOMAS LESTER MADE US ALL
TOBIAS BENTON HANGED US ALL
1742.

Some one, whilst inspecting these bells, may have mistaken "Benton" for "Brampton," and jumped to the conclusion that it was originally a Brampton bell. The only old Brampton bells which have left any trace of their course after leaving Brampton were the two, weighing 126 lbs. and 56 lbs., taken away and allowed for in 1826 and 1833 by Mr. Mears, who probably soon consigned them to the furnace in his Whitechapel foundry. They were doubtless identical with

"two bells with their frames"

mentioned

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mentioned in the terrier of 1749, at which time they must both have been in the tower of the ancient parish church, a mile and a half from the town, whence the larger of the two would be removed, when the nave and tower of that church were pulled down in 1788, to the hospital chapel in the town, which in that year was enlarged and constituted the parish church. One, if not both, of those bells may have been of great antiquity. Edward VI.'s inventory mentions as belonging to "Branton" in 1552

"ij prch (parish) bells one hand bell."

The taking of this inventory was preliminary to the issue of a commission in January, 1553, with authority to collect and convert to "ye Kinges use" all church goods except such as were deemed necessary for divine service, part of the duty of the commissioners being

"to sell or cause to be sold to our use by weight all parcells or peces of metall except the metall of greate bell saunce bell in every of the said churches or chapells."

The saunce or sanctus bell was that which was rung at the elevation of the host at the parish mass; it was frequently fixed on the apex of the eastern gable of the nave, but sometimes in the tower. This, with the sacring bell, hung inside the chancel, and the hand bell, used for processions, all three probably included as "saunce bell" in the injunctions to the commissioners, would be too small to be worth selling for the king's use; though if this commission had been issued, as is sometimes supposed, for the removal of what was deemed superstitious, we might be surprised at these bells being allowed to remain. The "greate bell," for calling the people to church, was of course not considered superfluous; but we may infer from the use of the singular number that where there were two or more such bells only one was to remain. Indeed it would seem from the instructions issued to the Northamptonshire commissioners that all bells were to be regarded as

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as liable to be seized. The commissioners were directed to charge churchwardens and other church authorities

"that they and eveyre of them do safely kepe unspoiled unembesiled and unsold all such bells as do remayne in everye of the said churches and chapells and the same to conserve untill our pleasur be therein further knowne."

We shall presently, however, see cause for believing that in some cases a pair of bells or even a ring of three or more suffered no diminution at the hands of the commissioners of 1553.

CASTLE CARROCK.

Bishop Nicolson was here on October 29, 1703, and observed

"the font all broken, and but one Bell" (Bp. N. p. 112.)

This bell the terrier of 1749 describes as

"one Bell in good order."

It had, according to Hutchinson (vol. i., p. 180), whose history of Cumberland was published in 1794, the following inscription :—

"Praise thou the Lord, O Castle Carrock."

Parson and White, in their Cumberland Directory for 1829, say (p. 420) :—

"The church was rebuilt in 1828. . . . . On the bell taken out of the old tower is inscribed, 'Praise thou the Lord, O Castle Carrock.'"

Whelan, writing in 1860, says (p. 671) :—

"The bell which was removed from the old church bears the inscription 'Praise thou the Lord, O Castle Carrock.'"

If Whelan supposed this bell to be still in existence in 1860 he probably believed it had been "removed from the old church" to the new; but it is not there now, nor was it there in Whelan's time, as the present bell has no other inscription than the date

1828

which

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which was the year of the rebuilding of the church. There is a tradition that the old bell was taken to Hayton; but Mr. T. Armstrong, who was churchwarden of Castle Carrock in 1828, says he took it to a foundry in Lowther Street, Carlisle, to be exchanged for the bell now in use. This statement in itself is not inconsistent with the tradition, as the bell might subsequently have found its way to Hayton; but we shall find, when we come to deal with Hayton parish, that this bell never went there. Some old inhabitants say that the inscription was in silver letters. Others say the bell had a silver rim. One old parishioner maintains that it was a better bell than the one they have now. Anyhow it was a more interesting bell, probably dating from the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. Had it been a pre-Reformation bell it would most likely have had a Latin inscription. Had it been of a period later than the early part of the 17th century it is nearly certain that it would have borne a date. A likely man to have presented it was Leonard Milburn, brother of Bishop Milburn, and rector of Castle Carrock from 1589 to 1636. The present bell is 18¾ inches in diameter, and weighs about 1 cwt. 2¾ qr. It has some exceptional uses, at all events exceptional in Brampton deanery, though not uncommon elsewhere, being rung as the "call bell" to invite the parishioners to attend a funeral, and as the "after burial bell" when they are leaving the grave. Not that the "call" itself is anything unusual in these parts, since

"in many of the small towns in Cumberland the custom of 'public funerals' prevails. The parish clerk, tolling his bell at intervals, invites in melancholy notes the 'friends and neighbours to attend' the interment of the deceased. At the house of mourning bread and cheese and ale are placed upon the table, which are partaken of by the company in silence (*Poems by* Peter Burns, p. 3 *n*)."

The exceptional character, then, of the "call" at Castle Carrock is its being given by the church bell, instead of by a hand bell "tolled" by the clerk. The Castle Carrock church

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church bell is also one of only three bells in the deanery which toll the "death knell." Probably in few parts of England could such an employment of a church bell be spoken of as a peculiar usage. Of peculiar uses, in the recognised sense of the term, such as the "curfew," the "gleaning bell," "pancake bell," "morning bell," &c., there are none nor any traditions of such throughout the deanery.

CUMREW.

In 1552 the royal commissioners found here

"ij bells one litill bell."

The "litill bell," whether sanctus or sacring, though spared by the commissioners, whose instructions did not require its removal, and perhaps again brought into use in Mary's reign, most likely disappeared in the Elizabethan warfare against "monuments of superstition."* But one of the "ij bells" remains to this day. It is 13 inches in diameter, weighs about 62 lbs., and has, just below the canons, running quite round, in Gothic capitals, the following inscription, with the letter N upside down :—

AVE · MARIA · GRACIA · PLENA.

In the space between the last and first words is an initial cross, with each of its four arms spreading out into a *fleur de lis*, the whole surrounded by a circle; and a *fleur de lis* is in each of the three other spaces. These marks may lead to the identification of the founder; but there is nothing exactly resembling them among the founders' marks engraved in the only two books on church bells which I have yet seen, viz., "*Rutland Church Bells*, by T. North, F.S.A.," and "*Cambridgeshire Church Bells*, by J. J. Raven, D.D." A rubbing of this Cumrew inscription was exhibited in the temporary museum during the visit of the Archæological

* Among the "relics and monuments of superstition" belonging to Crosthwaite (Keswick) church in 1571, and ordered in that year by Bishop Barnes to be sold, were "three hand bells." (*Whelan*, p. 334).

Institute

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Institute to Carlisle, and the antiquaries who examined it assigned the bell to the 14th or 15th century. So it may be 500 years old; and let us hope, its tone being still unimpaired, that it may keep its place in the church tower at Cumrew for centuries yet to come. It had, as we have seen, a companion in 1552, doubtless a twin sister. It has a companion now; on which is nothing but the date—

1750.

Nor was it alone in 1749, the terrier of that year having this item:—

"Two bells thought to weigh half a hundredweight."

This, if it be not a mere guess, must mean half a hundredweight each, the "Ave Maria" bell being itself about that weight. The bell dated 1750, which having the same diameter is of about the same weight as the ancient bell, if cast and hung before March 25th, may be identical with the second bell of the terrier of 1749, since March 25th, on which day the terrier was signed, was until 1753 the last day of the civil and ecclesiastical year, whilst the historical year ended then as now on December 31st, so that the months of January and February, and the first twenty-five days of March, were common to the ecclesiastical year 1749 and the historical year 1750. This bell, however, whether identical or not with the second bell of 1749, had probably an immediate predecessor, as it appears from entries in the churchwardens' accounts and the parish register that Cumrew church had more than one bell at the end of the 17th century. Was the second bell of these entries identical with the second bell of 1552? Not if the commission of 1553 was strictly executed. But we find Bishop Nicolson in 1704 recording at Skelton:—

"In the Tower there are two pretty good Bells: on the larger whereof is *Sancte Michael* (ye Church's Saint) *ora pro nobis:* and on the lesser *Ave Maria Gracia Plena*" (Bp. N., p. 245).

From which it appears, as both of these Skelton bells must have

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have been mediæval, that the injunctions of 1553, in the matter of bells, were not in all cases strictly carried out. The Skelton mediæval bells, as I am informed by the rector, no longer remain, their places being occupied by two bells dated 1717 and 1844. But there were in 1860, and may be still, two pre-Reformation bells at Renwick (*Whelan*, p. 619), and four at Greystoke (*ib.*, p. 543); and there still remain two such bells at Edenhall, and two at Langwathby. Mr. North says:—

"I incline to think the bells were too popular with the people to allow of their being seized with impunity" (*Church Bells of Rutland*, p. 27).

He laments, however, that the mediæval bells have mostly disappeared; for which he assigns other reasons besides spoliation at the time of the Reformation, such as

"ordinary wear and tear, accidents to the fabric of the church entailing injury to the bells, the remodelling of rings of bells to adapt them to change-ringing. . . and the poverty or parsimony of churchmen in post-Reformation times" (*ib*).

The way in which parsimonious churchmen have diminished the number of mediæval bells has been by selling them to obtain money for repair of the churches. But Cumberland church bells have mostly been too few and too small to incur much risk of decrease in number from that cause. The Cumrew bell, for instance, is not larger than some sanctus bells. The inscription on this bell perhaps settles the question of the dedication of the church, which in the ordnance map is called St. John's, in the parish register (by Rector Watson) St. Michael's, and in the local histories St. Mary's. Cumrew is the second of the three parishes in this deanery which have the usage of the "death-knell". Neither here nor at Castle Carrock, however, does the bell indicate, as in many other places, the age and sex of the deceased, the age by the number of tolls, and the sex by thrice three quickly repeated tolls, called the "tellers", for a man, and thrice two for a woman, before and after the

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the knell; whence the saying "Nine tailors make a man," a corruption of "Nine tellers mark a man" (*North* p. 92).

CUMWHITTON.

The terrier of 1749, signed by "Thomas Ritson, curate," says :—

"Two bells with their frames. We know not their weight."

Mr. Ritson perhaps thought it unreasonable that he should be expected to know their weight; and it may be admitted that Chancellor Waugh, who prepared the form for the terriers of 1749, scarcely showed his usual sagacity in asking for the weights of the bells. Had he asked for their inscriptions, with what extra fervour would Mr. Ferguson have exclaimed—"Antiquaries owe a debt to Mr. Chancellor Waugh!" (*Old Church Plate in Carlisle Diocese*, p. 6.) The terriers would then have thrown much light on the history of the bells in many places. We should have known, for instance, whether the Cumwhitton bells of 1749 were identical with

"ij prch bells"

found here by the royal commissioners in 1552, or whether one or both of the ancient bells were confiscated in 1553. Such knowledge is now beyond our reach. Early in the present century the tower fell, and with it, of course, the bells. Perhaps they were injured and rendered useless by the fall. Anyhow they disappeared, and were succeeded by the present bell, which is 24 inches in diameter, weighs about 3 cwt., and is dated

1818

It was procured, from what foundry is not known, by Mr. Blacklock, a former parishioner of Cumwhitton, then resident in London, who contributed liberally towards defraying its cost. Among the parish documents there is extant a printed copy of the sermon preached by the vicar, the Rev. E. Anderson, B.D., on June 20th, 1819, the day on which this bell was first used. Text:—

"In

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"In that day shall be upon the bells of the horses, Holiness unto the Lord."—Zechariah xiv., 20.

Cumwhitton is the third and last parish in this deanery to be noticed as having the usage of the "death knell". But, whilst at Castle Carrock and Cumrew the bell in no way indicates the sex or age of the deceased, at Cumwhitton it does indicate the sex, not however by triplets or doublets before and after the knell, but by the knell itself, with nine tolls for a man, seven for a woman, and five for a child. It is worth while to remark that the three parishes of Castle Carrock, Cumrew, and Cumwhitton, lie to the south of all other parishes in the deanery. In parishes nearer the border the death knell is unknown. On behalf of which border neglect of a custom prevalent throughout the rest of the country it may be alleged that the tolling of a single bell after death is in accord neither with the letter nor the spirit of the injunctions of the Church, as laid down in the 67th canon, which authorizes no tolling but that of the "passing bell":—

"When any is passing out of this life a bell shall be tolled, and the minister shall not then slack to do his last duty. And after the party's death, if it so fall out, there shall be rung no more than one short peal, and one other peal before the burial, and one other after the burial."

Note the deviations of modern usage from these instructions. The "passing bell", dating from remote antiquity and retained at the Reformation, was discontinued about the middle of last century. The "short peal" after death, now no longer rung even in parishes which have bells enough for the purpose, the object of which was to call upon friends to "give thanks for the deliverance of a soul from the miseries of this sinful world", cannot be said to have been canonically superseded by the tolling of the "death knell". Nor is the original intention of the "peals" before and after burial fulfilled by the now general tolling before or by the occasional tolling after interment.

FARLAM.

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FARLAM.

Among the church goods of "ffarlam" in 1552 were

"ij bells",

which in 1749, according to terrier of that year, had dwindled to

"one bell".

There are now again two bells here. On one of them, diameter of which 19 inches, weight 1 cwt. 3 qrs., and note B, is inscribed, with the royal arms beneath—

JOHN WARNER AND SONS, LONDON, 1858.

The other, 18 inches diameter, weight 1 cwt. 2 qrs., note E, is from the same foundry, but dated 1859, and without the royal arms. Both were given, on the occasion of the rebuilding of the church in 1860, by the late Mr. John Ramshay of Naworth Barns, steward to Earl Carlisle, and son of the donor of Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5, of the Brampton ring. Messrs. Warner, who have the Crescent Foundry, Cripplegate, in answer to inquiry as to what inscription or marks were on the old bell, write that they can find no entry in their books of any transaction with Farlam parish, and therefore conclude that the new bells must have been supplied through some local bell-hanger; in which case they would not know in what church the new bells were hung, or what became of the old bell.

HAYTON.

The terrier of 1749 mentions

"two small bells with their frames".

The church has now but one bell, 29⅝ inches diameter, weight about 4 cwt. 1 qr., on which is inscribed—

BURGESS AND HAYTON
CARLISLE A.D. 1830.

We seem to have here a clue to the origin of the tradition that the old Castle Carrock bell was taken to Hayton. If this

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this firm supplied the new bell to Castle Carrock in 1828 the old bell doubtless went to Hayton, but to the man and not the parish of that name. In 1828, as already mentioned (*ante*, p. 423), one of the churchwardens took the old Castle Carrock bell to Carlisle, and left it at a foundry in Lowther Street; the proprietors of which foundry we identify in the following entry in Parson and White's Cumberland Directory for 1829:—

"Burgess and Hayton, iron and brass founders, Lowther Street."

Their foundry in Lowther Street, as may be seen by reference to the Ordnance map of Carlisle, was known as the "Cockpit Smithy", so called from its occupying the site of the old Carlisle cockpit.* They cast the present Wetheral bell, 33½ inches diameter, weight about 8 cwt., dated 1833; between which year and 1837 the name of Hayton disappeared from the firm. Steele's Carlisle Directory for 1837 has this entry:—

"Thos. Burgess, iron founder, Water Lane, and 8 Botchergate."

The Water Lane premises, known as the "Waterloo Foundry," eventually passed into the hands of Mr. Daniel Clarke, who, when the site was taken by the railway companies for enlargement of the station, transferred the name "Waterloo Foundry" to new premises which he built in St. Nicholas Street, Botchergate. In what year the foundry was removed from the cockpit has not yet been ascertained; but the present foreman of the Waterloo foundry, who was in the employ of Burgess and Hayton, says that the Wetheral bell, which is dated 1833, was cast in Water Lane. The Hayton bell was the gift of the late Mr. Thomas Henry Graham of Edmond Castle, and perhaps contains the metal of the "two small bells" of the terrier of 1749, one or both of which may have been of mediæval

* It occupied not merely the site but the cockpit itself, a circus-like structure, which was still standing until the year 1875. A model of it is in the possession of Mr. Fisher, of Bank Street.

date

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date. A bell at Edmond Castle, 18 inches diameter, cast at the Whitechapel foundry, is inscribed—

C. & J. MEARS, FOUNDERS, LONDON, 1847.

In illustration of the way in which bells are sometimes condemned without cause, it may here be mentioned that the Hayton school bell, which had been supposed to be cracked, was found, when recently taken down for repair of its woodwork, to be perfectly sound. The fault had been in the gear, and not in the bell.

IRTHINGTON.

The commissioners' report on the church goods of this parish in 1552 is now in this condition :—

ETHRYNGTON: { One chales of silvr ij veste . . . .*.
ij litill bells.

There was room where the paper has been torn off for one other item, which may have been "ij bells" or "ij prch bells"; and, if so, the "ij litill bells" were probably the sanctus and sacring bells. But if the missing item were a "surpclothe" (surplice) "alterclothe" or some such other article, then the "ij litill bells" had to do duty as parish bells. Two bells were here in 1703, as Bishop Nicolson, who visited Irthington in that year, says :—

"One of their bells has long been burst" (Bp. N. p. 52).

There were still two bells here in 1746, on Dec. 7th of which year it was ordered at a parish meeting

"yt ye Churchwardens do take the proposels of Workmen for removing ye Bells to ye West End of ye Church and deliver ye said proposels at ye next parish meeting".

No record of the delivery of "ye said proposels" is extant. The terrier of 1749 has this entry :—

"Two bells with their frames thought to weigh each about two hundred."

As the weight of these bells seems to exclude the notion of their having been the "ij litill bells" mentioned in Edward

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Edward VI.'s inventory it becomes more probable that the missing item of that inventory was "ij prch bells", which may have been identical with the two bells seen a century and a half later by Bishop Nicolson, and may still have been here in 1749, it being by no means unlikely that a bell which in 1703 was still remaining, though it had "long been burst", was in those days allowed to remain for an indefinitely longer period. At what time these bells disappeared is not known with certainty. But Mr. Thomas Graham of Beanlands, who is a depository of much local tradition, his ancestors having owned Beanlands for nearly 300 years, says that the present bell was fixed when alterations were being made to the church at some time towards the close of last century. Perhaps the time in question is indicated in the following entry in the churchwardens' accounts:—

"1788—To pay Lachlan Murray for drawing a plan for a new church Writing out Rates Advertisements &c for letting the repairing of the Church £4 4*s* 0*d*."

The reader may be surprised to learn that Lachlan Murray was the parish clerk. But Lachlan Murray was a mysterious man, of whose antecedents Mr. Graham says that nothing was known beyond the fact of his having come from Scotland with Prince Charles Edward Stuart in 1745. Tradition is silent as to whether he remained in Irthington instead of going on with the prince to Derby, or left the army during its retreat. Certain it is that he did not return to Scotland, but settled himself at Irthington, where he kept a school, taught land surveying, and about the year 1755, as shewn by the register, became parish clerk, in which capacity he must have gained great reputation for versatility of talent, seeing that he was entrusted with the duty of "drawing a plan for a new church". Nor is it necessary to suppose, because no new church was built, that he proved himself unequal to the occasion; for the prudent vestry, whilst preferring on second thoughts a more

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more economical plan, shewed unabated confidence in Lachlan Murray by requesting him to prepare "rates advertisements &c. for repairing" the old church. The bell, as nothing is said about it in the churchwardens' accounts, was probably a gift. Like most of the bells in this deanery it is rather small; but, as it is placed where it is difficult to reach, its diameter, apparently about 17 inches, has not been ascertained. Nor is it worth while to make any attempt to reach it, since by the aid of an opera glass it is seen to be blank.

LANERCOST.

The churchwardens here in 1688, in their "answers to articles of inquiry", still preserved in the diocesan registry at Carlisle, reported everything, including "the bells", as

"in good order as becometh the house dedicated to ye publick worship of God."

The terrier of 1749 tells us their number:—

"Two bells."

That of 1777 reduces them to

"One bell."

This is the fourth instance we have met with in this deanery of a church which had two bells in 1749 having at a later period only one bell. Bishop Nicolson in his account of "Milburn Chapple", which he visited on August 19th, 1703, says:—

"They have a couple of small pitiful Bells, both miserably crack'd; and, some time agoe, petition'd for leave to have them both founded into one good one. This I assented to; but I do not see that anything is like to be done in it, without some sharp Treatment of the Churchwardens in the next year's Visitation" (Bp. N. p. 65).

We have here a probable explanation of what happened at the four above-mentioned churches, including Lanercost, in Brampton deanery. In each case the two bells may have been cracked, or if not cracked may have been very small

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small, and were accordingly "founded into one". The bell now at Lanercost is inscribed :—

PACK AND CHAPMAN, LONDON, FECIT, 1773.

This firm, predecessors of Messrs. Mears at the Whitechapel foundry, supplied a bell to Holme Cultram in 1771, and recast the Crosthwaite (Keswick) ring in 1775 (*Crosthwaite Parish Magazine*, October, 1882). At the same foundry, when in the hands of Lester and Pack, the Penrith ring was recast in 1763. Thomas Lester, when sole proprietor, recast the Hexham ring in 1742 (*Antiquities of Hexham*, p. 100). His predecessor was Richard Phelps, the founder of the old great bell of St. Paul's, from whose time Dr. Raven traces the foundry back, through the Wightmans and the Bartletts, to

"Robert Mott, or Moate, the first artificer at this very important place of whom we have any note, who died in 1608" (*Cambridgeshire Church Bells*, p. 96).

Pack and Chapman's Lanercost bell is 24 inches in diameter, and weighs about 3 cwt. It is to be regretted that Lanercost Abbey is one of the churches the names of which have been torn off from Edward VI.'s Inventory, as it would be interesting to know what church goods at Lanercost survived the dissolution of the monastery in 28 Henry VIII. There is at the Record Office the MS. of a long report drawn up by commissioners appointed in 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, to inquire at Shap, Carlisle, Wetheral, Appleby, and Penrith, concerning spoliation of the monasteries at those places in Henry's reign. The lead from Shap, it appears from this document, was taken by Lord Wharton. As to bells the commissioners reported :—

"The inhabitants of Carlysle dothe well remember the ffreers howses in Carlysle but what became of the bells ther they knowe not And as towching the foure bells of the saide late ffreers in Carlysle weiing D cwt weight there was none remayning in Carlysle at mighellmas anno xxxviii. nuper reg. H viij And for anye other knowlege we can get none.

"Lancelot

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"Lancelot Saulkelde clark Deane of the Catherall Churche of Carlysle saythe that one of the thre bells pteyning to the layte sell of Wetherell came to Carlysle which bell was hanged uppon the wall called Springoll Tower in Carlysle to call the workmen to worke at the making of the new cytydale in Carlysle and mending of the castell ther And for the other two bells the said Lancelot Saulkelde doth confesse him self that they remayne in a house in Wetherell for the Quenes mats use unbroken to be delyvered when yt shall shall pleas her grace to comaunde anye of her councell to call for the same two bells.

"John Harper srvante unto Xpofer Crackenthropp of Newbigging esquyer decessyd deposythe and saithe that his master Xpofer Crakenthrops dyd gyve hym liijs iiijd in sylver to pay master Grene for the bell of the layte ffreers in Applebye.

"Jeffrey Thomson Stephen Robinson and Anthonie Robinson of Penrithe yomen saythe that Richarde Wasshingtone besydes Kendal bought the late house of the ffreers in Penrithe and hadd the bell of the sayde ffreers."

Neither in the instructions issued to the commissioners, nor in the report made by them, is there any mention of the Shap bells. Local tradition says that one of them is now at Kirkbythore (*Whelan*, p. 753) and another at Orton (*C. and W. Transactions*, Vol. vi., p. 84). If Henry VIII. allowed the Shap bells to be distributed among neighbouring churches, the knowledge that such had been the case would render it unnecessary for Philip and Mary's commissioners to make any inquiry as to what had become of them. The omission of Lanercost and Holme Cultram from the list of places to be reported on by these commissioners shews that Lanercost and Holme Abbeys were not supposed to have been despoiled of lead or bells in Henry's reign; which was doubtless owing to their having been allowed to remain as parish churches. At Holme Cultram in 1552, according to Edward VI.'s inventory, there were "iij bells", probably the original number. One of those bells, dated 1465, remains to this day, and will be found, when the time comes for fully describing it, to be a bell of exceptional interest. Meanwhile it points to the inference that one or both of the Lanercost bells of

1749r

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1749, which probably supplied the metal for the present bell, were of mediæval date.

NETHER DENTON.

This church in 1552 had but a poor show of goods to present to the notice of Edward VI.'s commissioners, sioners, who reported :—

"NETHER DENTON: Itm one chales of tyn ij altercl. . ."

The missing item, if there be one missing, may or may not have been "ij bells" or "one bell", but there may be nothing missing, as the list may have ended with the "alterclothes". In 1689 there was a bell here which did not give satisfaction, as the churchwardens in their "presentments" for that year say :—

"We have a very bad bell."

In 1719 they say:—

"The steeple of our parish church is not in good repair. Neither have we any bell."

Bishop Nicolson was here in the interim, on May 7th, 1703, but says nothing either about a "bad bell" or the lack of a bell; which seems odd, especially as he found a good deal of fault in other respects. But his attention may have been diverted from the bell by the complaints of the parishioners about another matter, seeing that they were as dissatisfied with their newly appointed rector, Thomas Pearson, as they were with their bell; on which matter the bishop says :—

"Mr P will do well enough: all they complain of being onely his Reading too fast" (Bp. N. p. 1).

At what time they procured a bell there is nothing to show; but it must have been before 1749, the terrier for which year reports

"one Bel, the weight uncertain."

In 1868, when the church was rebuilt, a new bell was given

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given by Mr. C. Taylor of Low Houses. There is a prevalent belief that the old bell went to some other church, but to what church no one can say. The present bell, 19½ inches diameter, is inscribed—

J TAYLOR AND SONS
LOUGHBOROUGH, 1868.

Messrs. Taylor, the founders of "Great Paul", are the present representatives of the ancient bell-founders of Leicester, for an interesting account of whom, beginning as far back as the 15th century, see Mr. North's book on *The Church Bells of Rutland* (pp. 49-63).

OVER DENTON.

That a bell may easily get a worse character than it deserves is shown by what befel the old Over Denton bell, thus described in the terrier of 1875 :—

"One bell cracked and unfit for use."

In 1881, when the church was restored, a new bell was got, 14½ inches in diameter, weight 93 lbs., on which is—

JOHN TAYLOR & CO., LOUGHBOROUGH, 1881.

The old bell, when removed to make way for the new, was deposited in the ancient pele tower near the church, the vicar very properly desiring to preserve it as a venerable relic of the past. Its supposed crack was sought for but not found, nor was there now anything the matter with its tone. Yet for several years it had undoubtedly sounded as though it were cracked. Here, as in the case of the Hayton school bell (*ante* p. 431), owing to some loosening of its gear, the bell at every swing had touched the wall by the side of which it was fixed. It is only 7½ inches in diameter, and weighs but 16½ lbs. Unfortunately it is blank, so that there is nothing but its appearance to indicate its age; but if it be as old as it looks it is very ancient. Antiquaries who

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who saw it in the temporary museum of the Archæological Institute at Carlisle were of opinion that it has come down from mediæval times, but in the absence of marks or inscription they abstained from assigning it to any particular period. Its canon, like the west door of Lanercost Abbey,

is not in the centre, a probable sign of antiquity. Everything connected with Over Denton church, prior to its restoration in 1881, was ancient. Mr. C. Ferguson, writing in 1877, said :—

"The church at Over Denton is built of stones evidently taken from the Roman Wall, and is remarkable among the churches of Cumberland in retaining so much of its original character untouched, presenting a curious example of what was the early type of church in this diocese" (*C. and W. Archæological Transactions*, Vol. ii., p. 157).

In

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In the churchyard is the tombstone of

Margaret Teasdale of Mumps Hall
who died May the 5th 1777
aged 98 years
What I was once some may relate
What I am now is each ones fate
What I shall be none can explain
Till he that called call again.

What she was once has been related to some purpose by Sir Walter Scott. What she is now was feebly proclaimed by the old Over Denton bell* when it sounded the funeral knell of the hostess of Mumps Ha'.

STAPLETON.

Here, as at Nether Denton, Edward VI.'s commissioners were able to complete their report in a single line :—

"STAPPLETON: Itm one chales of tyn one veste. . ."

Perhaps even the single line afforded more space than they needed, and their report may have ended with the now missing syllable of the "vestement". Bishop Nicolson, who was at Stapleton on July 30th, 1703, says :—

"Nor did they ever hear that they had a Bell."

Doubtless both here and at Bewcastle he left strict injunction that a bell should be procured. But the men of Bewcastle, as we have seen, were slow, and their Stapleton neighbours were still slower, to supply the want. The Stapleton terrier, not only of 1749, but also of 1828, curtly reports :—

"No bell."

But 1828 was the year which saw the fixing of the Brampton ring, a memorable event in the history of church bells in this neighbourhood ; and in less than two years from

* This bell has from time immemorial been used as the parish bell; but it is so small that one must think it was originally the sanctus bell.

that

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that date, a short time on the borders in a matter of this kind, Stapleton had a bell of its own, 25⅛ inches in diameter, on which is inscribed

BURGESS AND HAYTON,
CARLISLE, 1830.

This firm, as we have seen, cast the Castle Carrock bell in 1828, the Hayton bell in 1830, and the Wetheral bell in 1833. It is worth while, in connection with the long continued lack of a church bell at Stapleton and Bewcastle, to notice that the same deficiency was observed by Bishop Nicolson in 1703, and by Chancellor Waugh about fifty years later, at Kirkandrews-upon-Esk. At Kirklinton, which he visited on October 6th, 1703, the bishop says :—

"They have two small Bells, which are pretty good; and a Rarity on the Borders" (Bp. N., p. 107).

He perhaps only meant that "*two* bells," especially if "pretty good," were the "rarity." Nevertheless the instances of Stapleton, Bewcastle, and Kirkandrews, seem to show that even a single bell was formerly a rarity in the border parishes.

TALKIN.

The chapel of this township of Hayton parish was built in 1842 by the late Mr. T. H. Graham, of Edmond Castle, who also gave the bell, 17½ inches diameter, weight about 1 cwt. 1½ qrs., cast by

THOMAS MEARS, FOUNDER,
LONDON, 1842.

The Whitechapel foundry, at which this bell was cast, was for nearly a century, as shewn by inscriptions on Cumberland bells, in the hands of the Mears family. T. and W. Mears, the successors of Pack and Chapman (*ante* p. 434), or rather of W. Chapman, who was sole proprietor in 1781, (*Raven*, p. 152), cast a bell for Egremont in 1788; Thomas Mears

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Mears cast the Brampton ring in 1826, the Talkin bell in 1842, and the present fourth bell of Carlisle Cathedral ring in 1845; C. and G. Mears cast the Edmond Castle bell in 1847; Mears & Co. the St. Stephen's (Carlisle) bell in 1864; and Mears and Stainbank the St. Cuthbert's (Carlisle) bell in 1876. Mr. Robert Stainbank is now sole proprietor.

WALTON.

There is here a new bell, bought by subscription, from the Cripplegate foundry:—

CAST BY
JOHN WARNER & SONS
1876.

The terrier of 1878 describes it as

"One large bell weighing about 8 cwt."

But its weight, as given in the founders' account, is 10 cwt. It is therefore the largest bell in the deanery, being heavier by one cwt. than the Brampton tenor. Its note is G. The terrier of 1749 mentions

"One bell weighing about a hundred and twenty pounds weight."

This bell, which has been transferred to the school-room, is 15 inches in diameter, and inscribed only with date

1731.

A still earlier bell had in 1703 incurred the contempt of Bishop Nicolson, who says:—

"Here's only one little crack'd Bell" (Bp. N., p. 53).

He seems, from what he said both here and at Castle Carrock (*ante* p. 422) to have expected to find more than one bell at each church; and we have seen that at some time or other as many as seven of the churches even in this border deanery had formerly two bells. We may conclude, therefore, that when the bishop spoke of the Kirklinton bells as "a rarity on the borders" (*ante* p. 440) he meant

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meant by the "borders" only the strictly border parishes. The two "pretty good" bells of Kirklinton have now given place to one bell; and in Brampton deanery there are now but three churches which have each more than one bell. The same diminishing process has probably been going on in other parts of the county, which may be found, when its church towers and terriers have been thoroughly explored, to possess fewer bells now than it had in 1749, and to have had fewer in 1749 than in 1552. Not that there was ever any abundance of church bells in this county, for it appears, as nearly as can be ascertained from the present imperfect condition of Edward VI.'s Inventory, that in 1552 only two Cumberland churches had 4 bells each, four had 3, seventy-six had 2, nineteen had each but one bell, and twenty had no bell, making a total of 181 bells in 111 churches, or an average of 1.6 to each church; a poor list compared with that given in the Inventory for other counties, *e.g.*, Herts with its average of 3.6 (*Church Goods in Herts*, by J. E. Cussans), Berks 3.2 (*Church Goods in Berks*, by W. Money, F.S.A.), and Kent 3 (*Archæologia Cantiana*). But, as a main reason for the present rarity of mediæval bells in England has been the recasting of rings to adapt them to the requirements of change ringing, a comparatively modern innovation, it is just possible that in Cumberland, for the reason that from remote times down to the present day its rings have been few and far between, there may yet be remaining in its church towers a greater number of ancient bells than are to be found in counties where from time immemorial almost every parish church has had its ring. Mr. North says:—

"The old rings consisted usually of few bells and heavy ones. . . . . To ring the 'changes,' introduced by Stedman and his disciples, a larger number of bells were required. This want could be met in two ways, either by adding new trebles to the existing heavy rings, which was the best but most expensive way, or by recasting, say, four heavy bells into six or eight light ones, and so increasing the number without buying more metal. This was the least expensive but

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but more popular plan . . . It ceases, therefore, to be a matter of surprise that it is chiefly in small rural churches, with few bells, where the temptation to change ringing could not exist, that we chiefly expect and usually find ancient bells (*Rutland Church Bells*, p. 31).

We might therefore expect to find many mediæval bells still remaining in Cumberland but for the probability that their number has been considerably lessened by a practice we have already had occasion to notice, which is exactly the opposite to that spoken of by Mr. North. The ancient Cumberland bells, if we may judge from the two surviving specimens in this deanery, and from the traces on which we have come of bells formerly existing at Brampton, Hayton, Kirklinton, and Milburn, were very small, and the temptation has been to recast two bells into one. Still if there remain even as many mediæval bells in each Cumberland deanery as in that of Brampton, it will be above the average of other counties. Publicity will be the best means of saving them from the furnace.

In conclusion I beg to return my best thanks to the clergy and churchwardens of this deanery, who have kindly supplied me with much of the information contained in the foregoing paper.

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ART. XLII.—*On some Earthworks near Eamont Bridge.* By WM. ATKINSON.

Read at that place August 2nd, 1882.

I.—MARKED (A) ON THE MAP.

ABOUT 150 yards south of what is known as Arthur's Round Table, on the same flat alluvial tract as that structure, and almost exactly opposite the bridge of the Penrith and Kendal road over the Lowther, there existed, before the construction of the new private road to Lowther Castle, a low circular ridge of considerable diameter, about half of which was contained in the field adjoining the road and river, and the rest in the two fields to the north of this. The ridge was, through most of its extent, not more than 6 to 9 inches above the level of the surrounding ground, and from 3 to 5 feet broad at the base. It would have a diameter of from 60 to 80 yards as nearly as I can now estimate, and this considerable area, slight elevation, and extension over three fields, probably account for its being previously overlooked. When it first drew my attention some 8 or 10 years ago the circle was incomplete on the side towards the river, and had doubtless been removed here in the erection of the wall enclosing the road, or obliterated by traffic when the road was less circumscribed, or it might have been destroyed by tillage, which had no doubt considerably reduced the parts still visible at the time I have mentioned. The ridge was composed mainly of gravel, with a little soil intermixed, and seemed to be scarcely at all different from the subjacent soil, in fact no line of demarcation between the two was evident. I had an opportunity of noting this during the formation of the new private road, above referred to, 4 or 5 years ago, when part of the ridge had been newly removed. There was apparently

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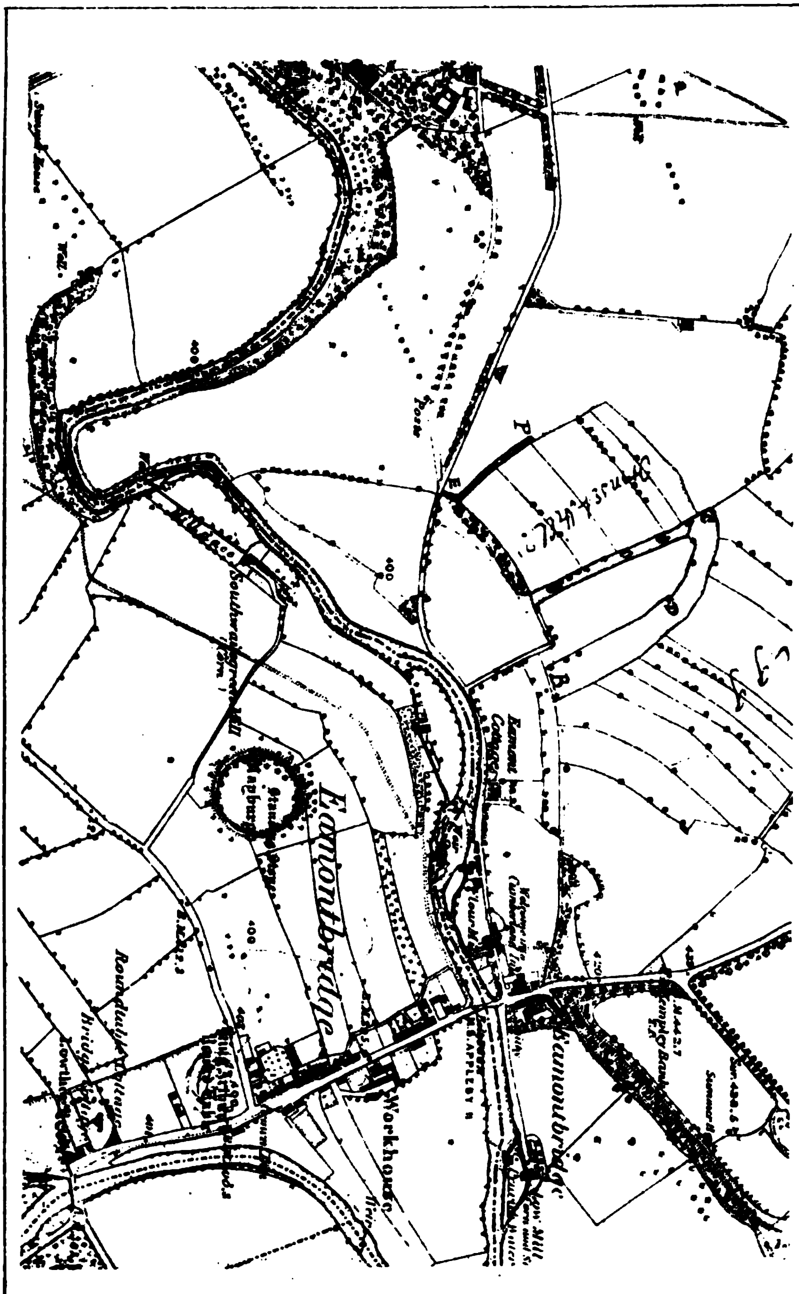

EARTHWORKS NEAR EAMONT BRIDGE.

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apparently nothing in the way of earthwork or artificial structure in the ground enclosed by this ridge; in fact from its appearance one would have judged that an annular mound had simply been thrown up from the surrounding gravelly soil, and that the rest of the land on which it lay had been left undisturbed — the whole thus forming an inconspicuous and almost insignificant feature. It must, however, be borne in mind that any structures interfering with cultivation would, if their removal were possible, soon disappear under the hand of the northern farmer. The portion of the circle left after the construction of the new road, was partly covered over in forming a new shrubbery, and the rest, in the fields to the north, removed or levelled down about the same time, so that when I visited the place last summer no certain vestige of it remained. If, as has been often suggested, Arthur's Round Table was used for personal contests of some kind, perhaps both on horseback and on foot, the likelihood of the circle I have just described being put to a similar purpose, but on a larger scale, seems very strong. At all events, from their similarity of character and their proximity, it is tolerably certain that this circle was intimately connected with the Round Table and Maybrough in origin and purpose.

II.—MARKED (BDC) ON THE MAP.

The second earthwork that I wish to call attention to lies about 400 yards from Maybrough, in a north-westerly direction, and on the opposite side of the Eamont. At first sight it has considerable resemblance to a broad curving road, occupying the low ground between two hills, with a high steep bank on the east side, the result of cutting away the hill here, and in the lower part sloping down gradually to the river. It has perhaps a stronger likeness to a broad railway-cutting which has never been used for traffic, and is overgrown with grass. The curving direction which it takes is owing to its following the valley between the two hills. These

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These hills are (1) on the east, the south-west flank of the long ridge of high ground known as Wetherick, which stretches from near Penrith in a south-east direction to end abruptly near here in the alluvial plain of the Eamont, and (2) a much lower eminence on the west side, without a distinctive name so far as I am aware, but which it will be convenient to call "West Hill" in the remainder of this notice. Both these hills are examples of those enormous accumulations of glacial drift so widely scattered over the two counties, and so remarkable for their uniformly hog-backed contour, and their general parallelism over large areas. They often possess peculiarities of shape which lead to their being considered of artificial origin, and taken for tumuli, &c., but the structure I have at present to describe is, I think, unquestionably one of human handiwork. The distance over which this road-like structure is evident is about 430 yards, its breadth in the upper or north-west part is about 16 to 20 yards, while lower down it suddenly becomes about twice this width. To the west its course is indicated by the hedge of the field, which marks the boundary here between the earthwork and the gradual slope of the westerly hill. On the east side it ends abruptly at the foot of the steep sloping bank which has been formed by cutting away part of the south-west shoulder of Wetherick, the hill to the east. This steep slope, which is the feature giving rise to the appearance of a railway cutting, varies in vertical height from a few feet at the upper end to about 15 feet near the middle, dying away again to the south as the general contour of the ground slopes down to the river. Between its two banks the road-like tract is flat from side to side, and in the direction of its length fairly level for about 120 yards, but then slopes gradually down to the low alluvial land bounding the river. Just before this slope begins the flat tract suddenly widens, as before mentioned, to about double its former breadth; *i.e.*, a new tract is added (at D), of

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of the same breadth and running side by side with the first. This second is not on the same level, but is about a foot or in some parts over 3 feet lower than the first.

At the point (D) where this second tract begins, the field also widens, the hedge running outwards some 22 feet or more so as to enclose the whole. Indeed it is curious that this earthwork is all in one field, and in no way crossed or obscured by hedges, a circumstance which, taken together with its unusual shape, goes to show either that it was enclosed very early, or that when a general enclosure took place its exceptional character was recognised.

At the south-east end (B) the evidence of artificial structure gradually disappears towards the flat alluvium of the old river bed. At the north-west end (C) I have been informed that there formerly existed a circle of stones, of which I hope to be able to elicit more definite information from other sources. No trace of these stones is apparent at first sight, but on examination of the wall here its foundations on the north-west side are seen to consist of stones of considerably larger size than are to be found in the neighbouring walls. This concurrence of large stones would hardly occur accidentally just at this place, and would certainly not be collected to one point for the mere purpose of building the wall, but if on the spot they would naturally be put to this use.

The letters (OO) are placed on a long narrow field, which appears to have been an old road leading directly up to the wall just mentioned at the north-west end of the long earthwork, with which it agrees both in being now all one field, and apparently in not having been ploughed.

III.—MARKED (EP) ON THE MAP.

On the opposite side of "West Hill" from the places just described there occurs another earthwork. This is a long

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long narrow trench with a high mound on each side. It is about 160 yards long, only a foot or two wide at the bottom, and about 12 feet across at the top. In some parts it is 5 or 6 feet deep, but generally less than this. It extends from the south-west shoulder of "West Hill" (at E) near the Skirsgill road, in a north-west direction, parallel to the ridge of the hill and along its base, and rudely parallel to the earthwork last described. At its northern termination (P) it bends at right angles to the east, and ends abruptly in the side of the hill. From this point onwards to the north-west the hill rises more sharply from the lower ground lying to the west, and it seems in places along this north-west boundary, as well as across its northern extremity, and especially near the head of the earthwork, B D C, to have been artificially scarped as in the case of the latter. At its southern end the trench turns abruptly to the south, and after running a few yards in this direction terminates against the Skirsgill road mentioned above.

It is impossible to examine remains like these without speculating upon their origin and the purpose they were intended to serve. And since the life and therefore the history of our forefathers was made up largely of battles and wars, one is perhaps inclined to look first for a military purpose in such cases. That such an explanation can be given of the places I have attempted to describe above, seems at least doubtful. The trench (EP) on the west of "West Hill" may have been used to defend the hill from an attack from the west, and the artificial slopes to the north-west and north, together with its steep south end, give support to this theory, but on the other hand, its low elevation and want of natural advantages for defence are strongly against its choice for such a purpose. It might, however, be conjectured to have formed a first line of defence, and the larger earthwork (BDC) a second, having Wetherick at its back, and the steep eastern slope of (BDC) would strengthen this view; but again, the tract at the foot

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foot of the latter would surely not have been left flat but converted into a deep trench, whereas it has been on the contrary artificially levelled, and further, the whole position could have been easily turned by a slight detour to the north, which would lead round to the west of Wetherick by an easy and continuous slope. Leaving out of question the long trench (E), for whose existence I can think of no satisfactory explanation, it seems that much the most likely purpose which the large road-like excavation (BD) could serve would be that of a racecourse, probably for horses or for chariots, with the starting point at its north-west extremity (C), and the goal at or near Maybrough. The road-like tract will be seen after its first slight curve to lead almost directly to the centre of Maybrough. This, if the course were straight, would necessitate the crossing of the river, which was probably at that period by no means so much below its banks as now. The private house known as "The Bleach Green" would lie in or very near this course. The long road-like field (marked OO on the map) might serve as a straight path for competitors to reach the starting point, or it may have formed a first part of the course, but in this case the turn at the north-end (G) would be very abrupt. The whole of this course would lie in full view from Maybrough, and the passage of the river would add a difficulty to riders or drivers very much of the nature of the modern "water jump." Of course the whole of this suggestion is only a conjecture, underlain, as all such conjectures must be, by more or less of probability, but the Round-Table and the annular mound near Lowther Bridge, seem better adapted for contests of skill and strength than for any other assignable purpose. And it is at least likely that chariot and horse as well as foot-races would form part of such sports if we may follow the tradition which has ascribed these structures to the British times of Arthur. It certainly appears not at all impossible that, perhaps in the late British period, when this district

was

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was part of Strathclyde, the neighbourhood of Eamont Bridge was the scene of a periodical festival, for the celebration of games of a similar character to those held at Olympia, and like those, probably also religious in origin, if Maybrough and its large stones are to be regarded, as they often have been, in the light of a temple. If this supposition has any ground in fact it becomes an interesting question how far the modern north country games are descendants of those formerly practised here, and whether the local wrestling, pole leaping, and general strong taste for athletic sports, are not as real and important relics handed down of the condition of our fore-elders, as are the more tangible but less easily read remains of Maybrough and the Round Table.

Since writing the foregoing I have been able to add a few other particulars, which it seems desirable to append, so that this notice of the remains may be as nearly complete as my opportunities will allow. The first of these addenda is from the "Itinerarium Curiosum" of the Rev. W. Stukely, to which I was directed by the Editor of these Transactions. Here, to my great gratification, I found drawing which includes both the southern circle (A) and the Round Table, together with a description of these and Maybrough as they appeared at the time of his visit. I have made a tracing of the drawing and transcribed the letterpress, and from their quaintness and interest I am glad to have permission to print them as an appendix. It will be seen that Stukely considered, as I do, that Maybrough and the two structures just mentioned, *i.e.*, the circle (A) and the Round Table mark the site of a religious festival, which was accompanied by games; but he places the racecourse, or circus, round the two latter. This, however,

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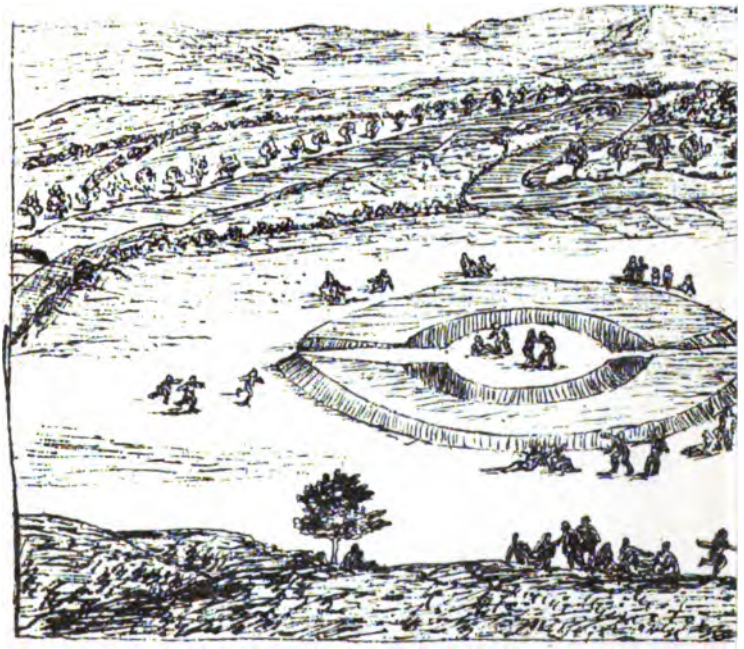
View of the [illegible]



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ever, is pure conjecture, unsupported by any evidence, for there is no trace visible now of such a track, nor was there in his day. Indeed he seems to lay down a racecourse here because he thought it would form a necessary part of the games. The earthwork (BDC) to which his attention had not been drawn, would answer much more correctly to the "*ad flumina*" of his quotation from Virgil.

He gives the diameter of the southern circle (A) as 100 yards, while Hutchinson puts it at 70 yards, which from my recollection I should think more nearly correct. It will therefore be seen that I have only re-discovered this structure.

With regard to Stukely's remark that the stones of Maybrough have been brought from some other place, I ought to mention an ingenious, and to my mind very probable, suggestion of Mr. J. G. Goodchild of H.M. Geological Survey, to whom I owe thanks for the idea of laying down the places referred to on the 6 in. ordnance map, and for other useful hints. Mr. Goodchild believes that Maybrough may very well have been originally one of those great mounds of glacial drift known as Eskers which are so common in this neighbourhood, and that the centre has been cleared out, and the larger stones thus obtained placed round the margin, while the gravel and smaller stones were used to form the level internal area. The large stone in the centre is one of the great bluish-grey boulders of volcanic ash, so commonly found scattered over the country by glacial action, and probably brought from the Lake District, and it would, with the others formerly existing here, in all likelihood be found in the centre of such a mound.

From Mr. C. Valance Stalker I have learnt, by correspondence, that most of Wetherick, and the parts adjacent, were known as the "Castle Lands" and were unenclosed in the present century, and crossed by tracks in various directions, and that they then formed a usual resort

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resort for the encampment in summer of the nomadic population known as potters. He throws no light on the long earthwork (BDC), but says that the trench, meaning I suppose the one I have marked (EP), was used for filtering and carrying water for the town. Here, however, he is surely in error, and must have failed to identify the locality from the map-tracing I sent. The water from the Eamont could not have been brought up to this higher level, and no surface or spring water could very well be collected here because the hill on the east side ("West Hill") is formed, as has been said, of permeable glacial drift, while the field bordering the trench on the west is underlain by limestone, as evidenced by a "swallowhole" about 50 yards from the trench, and therefore we have a subsoil in both directions about as unfavourable for the collection of water as possible. Indeed the porous nature of the ground is remarkable here, for no runlet I believe enters the Eamont between the Redhills stream and Carleton Hall. I can therefore only conclude that his remark is based on mistaken identity. I am indebted to Mr. Stalker also for a reference to the following paragraph in Hutchinson's history:—"Opposite to Maybrough on the Cumberland side of the Eamont is a large tumulus, or cairn, called Ormsted Hill, formed of pebbles, which appear where the turf is broken: it is set round with large grit stones of different sizes, some a yard square, the circle being about 60 feet in diameter." This is evidently Stukely's tumulus "on the high ground overlooking all," and very likely, as he says, was a funeral monument connected with the other remains of the neighbourhood. I do not know that any trace of it still exists, but it must, from the description, have stood at the top of the high bank known as Kemplay.

By the kind help of Mr. J. F. Wilkins, I am able to add measurements of the head of the earthwork (BDC), which seems worth attention. The flat tract does not extend

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extend up to the wall at (C), but ends somewhat curiously against ground a foot or two higher which reaches up to the wall. This higher ground sends a kind of tongue 8 feet in breadth and 25 feet long into the lower tract, thus leaving two recesses or bays one of 14 feet and the other about 30 feet in breadth, and the same depth as the tongue, *i.e.* 25 feet. The rest of this higher ground about 18 feet broad is continued into the field (OO). This, on the supposition that the place was a racecourse, might be used for chariots, &c., to reach (C) the head of the long earthwork, where they might be stationed for starting in either or both of the two recesses, which would thus be analogous to the Roman carceres, I do not mean to suggest that the people who used this structure for a racecourse, if ever it were so used, were Romans, but there is every probability that any Aryan people like the Britons would have in their games some points of similarity to those of the Romans and Greeks.

PENRITH.

(Extract from the Itinerarium Curiosum of the Rev. W. Stukely. Published 1776.)

At the conflux of the rivers Louther and Eimot there is a remarkable curiosity, that illustrates the method of the religious solemnities, as much as any I have seen. Upon the edge of the Louther, where the bridge now passes it, is a delicate little plain, of an oblong form bounded on the other side by a natural declivity: this is used to this day for a country rendezvous, either for sports or military exercises, shooting with bows, &c. On this plain stands the antiquity commonly called King Arthur's Round Table, and supposed to be used for tilts and tournaments: it is a circle inclosed with a ditch, and that with a *vallum*. At first sight we may see that it was intended for sports, but not on horseback, because much too little; the *vallum* on the outside lies sloping inwards with a very gradual declivity on purpose for spectators to stand around it, and it would hold at least 10,000 people. The outside of the *vallum* is pretty steep: it was high originally as may be seen now in some parts; but it is worn down, as being by the side of the common road; and the inhabitants carry it away

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away to mend the highways withal. There are two entrances into the *area*, north and south, or nearly so; one end is enclosed into a neighbouring pasture: the area had a circle within, somewhat higher in elevation than the other. The outer verge of the *vallum* is a circle of 300 foot: the composition of it is entirely cobbles and gravel, dug out of the ditch. Upon part of the plain are marks of the tents of the Scots army, that accompanied King Charles II. on his way to Worcester: they encamped here for some time, and drew a small line across part of the southern circle: this was done within memory.

Just 400 foot from the verge of the south entrance is another circle, 300 foot in diameter, made contrarywise to the former: the *vallum* is small, and the ditch whence it was taken is outermost. Thus these two circles and the interval make 1000 foot in length; and there is just room enough without them, next the river and next the bank, for a *circus* or foot race, according to the manner of the Grecians which were always celebrated by the sides of rivers:—"*Centum ego quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina currus*" &c., *Virgil;* and probably British chariots had here their courses. On the southern end it is manifest they contrived it just to leave room enough for the turn; and it required good skill to drive a chariot so as not to fall there, or into the river. It must be understood that the bridge at present, and another of wood formerly below it, have impaired the banks by the more southern circle. This is the most delightful place that can be imagined for recreation: the rapid Louther runs all along the side of it; the Eimot joins it a little way off, in view; beyond that is a charming view of a vast wood, and of Brougham Castle; beyond that the ancient Roman City, and the Roman Road going along under the high hill whereon is the beacon. But these are things later in time than our antiquity.

Though upon first sight of the place I knew its purport, yet I was more fully convinced thereof when I went to see Mayborough, as it is called, which is a little higher up the hill, on an eminence higher than any near it, and full west from this place or *circus*: it is a vast concavity, of the same diameter as the circles just mentioned, viz., 300 foot: it is made with an artificial *vallum* of loose stones, without any ditch, carried with great labour from some other place, and here piled up, so as to make a rampart as high and broad as that at Abury: in some places the turf with which it was covered originally, is peeled off: it slopes inward with a gentle descent on account of spectators; outwardly it is as steep as the nature of the materials would suffer, and now covered over with great timber trees: the entrance is wide and opens full east, and to the *circus*. Within this fine plain which is now ploughed up, have been two circles of huge stones; four remaining

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maining of the inner circle till a year or two ago, that they were blown to pieces with gunpowder, they were of a hard black kind of stone like that of the altar at Stonehenge: one now stands, ten foot high, seventeen in circumference, of a good shapely kind; another lies along: this inner circle was fifty foot in diameter. One stone at least of the outer circle remains by the edge of the corn; and some more lie at the entrance within side, others without, and fragments all about. Just by the entrance, along the road runs a spring, full eastward.

This I suppose to be a great British temple, where the country met on solemn days to sacrifice. After the religious duties were over, they went down to the *circus* to celebrate their games: and I could not but admire the fine genius of the people in chusing places for their sports; for upon the verge of the acclivity, along the *circus*, an infinite number of people might stand to see the whole without the least inconvenience, besides those in the plain between the two circles; and these two circles admirably well executed the intent of the *meta's*, but much better than those in the Roman circus's. In ploughing at Mayborough they dug up a brass celt. On the other side of the Eimot, upon a high ground overlooking all, is a very fine round *tumulus*, of a large size, and set about with a circle of stones: this in all probability was the funeral monument of the king that founded the temple and *circus*. Somebody has lately been digging away part of the barrow and carried off some of the stones, and demolished others.

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ART. XLIII.—*On Ancient Remains, chiefly Prehistoric, in Geltsdale, Cumberland.* By the Rev. G. ROME HALL, F.S.A., Vicar of Birtley, Wark, Northumberland.

Read at Carlisle, August 7th, 1882.*

SOME observations connected with various remains, chiefly of prehistoric interest, were made by the writer and noted down a few years since, during excursions in the beautiful vale of the river Gelt. Geltsdale is but little known except in its lower reaches, where amongst the picturesque wood-embowered ravines near the village of Hayton, appears the famous "Written Rock" of the Roman Wall-builders. Lovers of natural scenery, as well as archæologists, make this favoured spot a place of frequent pilgrimage.

As the rest of the valley has been but seldom visited for the purpose of antiquarian research these notes on one small corner—a minor dale—of Cumberland, may serve to prove that it possesses many other remains of considerable interest and value.

The river Gelt† rises amongst the lofty mountains of the Cross Fell range (the water-shed also of the South Tyne) in the royal forest of Geltsdale, which, with the neighbouring forest of Brierthwaite, formerly belonged to the great Priory of Hexham. On the suppression of the monasteries it was granted to the powerful Barons of Gilsland, and is now the property of the Earl of Carlisle. From the furthest source of the Gelt in its rivulet "The Old Water" in the wild fastnesses of fell and moor its course does not much exceed twelve miles; until,

* At the joint meeting of this Society and the Royal Archæological Institute.

† Probably from the Celtic "*gwilt*," *wild*; a descriptive epithet which is very appropriate throughout most of its course. Cf. Glenwhelt, near Carvorran, the "wild glen," and *Gwilt Gwallin*, "Wild Wales."

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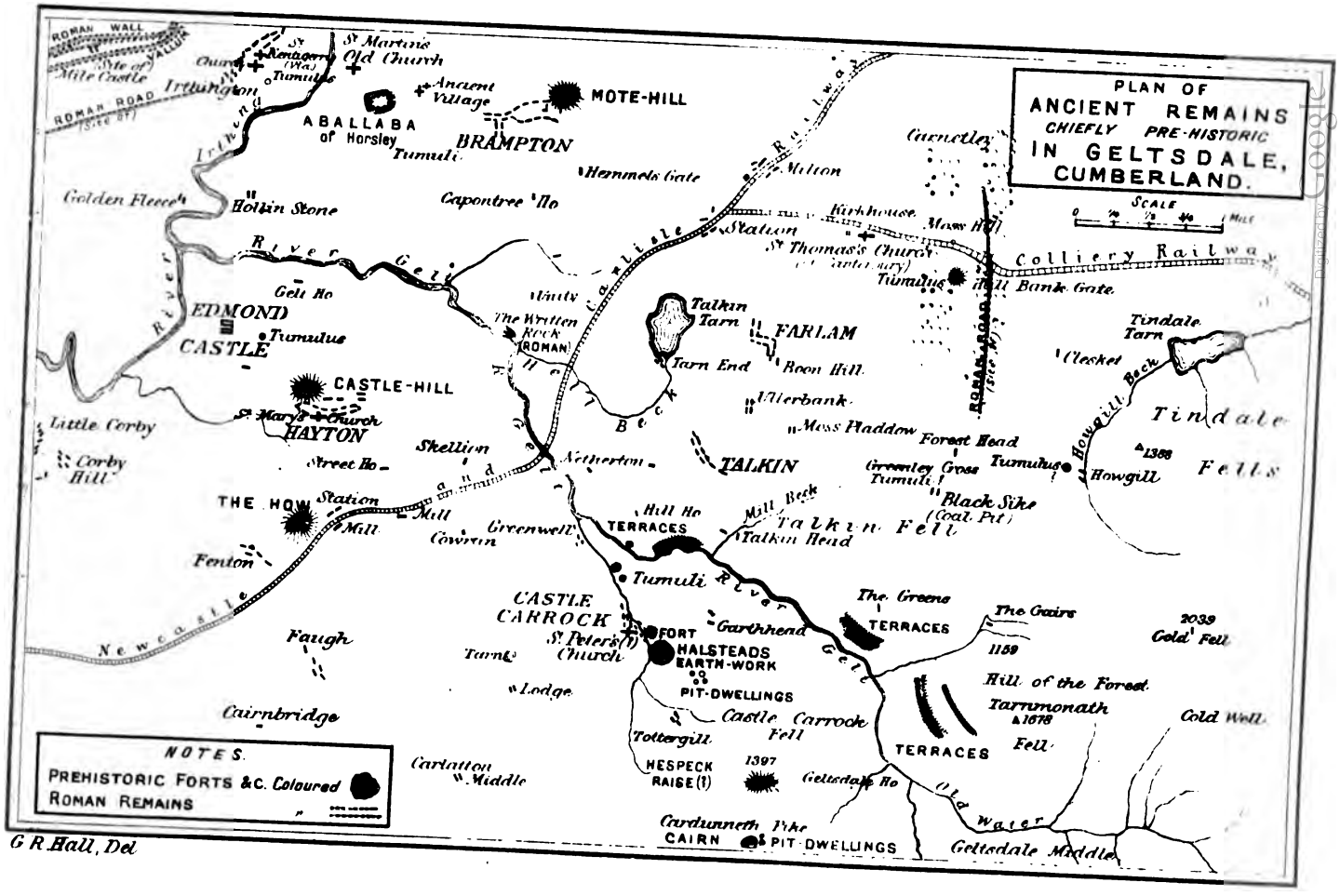
PLAN OF
ANCIENT REMAINS
CHIEFLY PRE-HISTORIC
IN GELTSDALE,
CUMBERLAND.
SCALE
ROMAN WALL
Site of Mile Castle
ROMAN ROAD (Sec 87)
Irthington
St Martin's Old Church
Ancient Village
MOTE-HILL
ABALLABA of Horsley
BRAMPTON
Tumuli
Hemmels Gate
Milton
Carnetley
Golden Fleece
Hollin Stone
Capontree Ho
Kirkhouse
Moss Hill
Station
St Thomas's Church
Colliery Railway
Tumulus
Hill Bank Gate
River Gelt
Gelt Ho
EDMOND CASTLE
Tumulus
The Written Rock (ROMAN)
Talkin Tarn
FARLAM
Tarn End
Boon Hill
Tindale Tarn
Clesket
CASTLE-HILL
St Mary's Church
HAYTON
Little Corby
Corby Hill
Skellion
Street Ho
Netherton
Ullerbank
Moss Pladdow
Forest Head
Greenley Gross Tumuli
Tumulus
Howgill
Tindale Fells
TALKIN
Black Sike (Coal Pit)
THE HOW
Station
Mill
Cowran
Greenwell
Hill Ho
TERRACES
Mill Beck
Talkin Head
Talkin Fell
Fenton
Tumuli
CASTLE CARROCK
St Peter's (?) Church
FORT HALSTEADS EARTH-WORK
Garthhead
The Greens
TERRACES
The Gairs
2039
Cold Fell
1159
Hill of the Forest
Tarnmonath
1678
Fell
Cold Well
Faugh
Tarn
Lodge
PIT-DWELLINGS
Castle Carrock Fell
Cairnbridge
Tottergill
HESPECK RAISE (?)
1397
Geltsdale Ho
Old Water
Carlatton Middle
Cardunneth Pike
CAIRN
PIT-DWELLINGS
Geltsdale Middle
NOTES.
PREHISTORIC FORTS &C. Coloured
ROMAN REMAINS
G R Hall, Del

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near Edmond Castle, in the fertile plain, it becomes a confluent of the river Irthing, which again in its turn, about three miles farther down, falls into the Eden near Warwick Bridge.

High up in the royalty of Geltsdale "Old Forest," near the angle formed by the infant river and its small affluent, the How Gill or Tarnmonath Burn, lie two well-defined parallel ledges near a ruinous cottage, the Gairs, on the hill slope. These are the first ancient remains to be noticed.

GAIRS* TERRACES.

They have been apparently built up in places, like so many similar terraces that attract the notice of travellers in Palestine, China, and various countries of Europe. Archæologists consider such artificial or partly artificial parallel ledges to have been utilised by the early inhabitants of Britain for the limited cereal cultivation possible in their semi-savage condition. They are very numerous in Yorkshire, especially in Wensleydale and on the Eastern Wolds, and in Northumberland on the flanks of the Cheviot, in the vales of North Tyne, the Breamish, and the Colledge near Flodden Field. In the latter county these ancient remains are usually in the near vicinity of "British Camps," so-called, as if directly connected in their origin; whereas in Yorkshire these "camps" or prehistoric hill and vale forts are few and far between, compared with the great frequency of the terrace-culture lines. Though a natural origin has been claimed for them by geologists, as ancient river-margins or parallel outcrops of rock-strata, particularly in the carboniferous limestone formation, there remains but little doubt in the minds of those who have studied the subject that they have been either purposely constructed, or, where partially natural, adapted for culti-

* Perhaps so-called from the Celtic name of the adjoining burn, tumbling over its steep, rocky bed; *garw*, rough, as in Garry, Yare, and Yarrow.

vation.

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vation. On the bank or slope of the hill to the south and west of the great Roman Station of "Borcovicus" on the Roman Wall, "The Tadmor of Britain," several terraces of this kind are plainly visible, that would be used in Roman-British and perhaps still earlier times. Dean Stanley, Dr. Norman Macleod, and others have considered that if the broken terraces encircling the hills around Jerusalem and elsewhere in the Holy Land were again reformed, and the rich soil, once covering them and now lying useless in the bottom of the *wadis*, were re-placed, much of the pristine fertility of Palestine would be brought back ere long. The purpose they subserved is to this day well illustrated by similar terraces in the Rhineland, France, and Italy. They were evidently formed to prevent both soil and seed from being washed down the declivities of valley-basins, where in ancient days the rainfall would be much more considerable than at present. Then the site of these terraced slopes would be mere clearings in the wide-spreading primeval forests, midway up the hills, or sufficiently elevated above the rivers for security from floods.

The Gairs terraces are about fifteen to twenty feet high and eighty yards in length; the lower line being less distinctly defined. Their direction appears to be from north-west to south-east. Some distance above is a limestone ridge of small shivered and weathered stones, about twenty feet high; and upon it are traces of wall-foundations of unhewn stones with other remains of former occupation. Beyond lies "*The Hill* in the Forest," thus named *par excellence*, from being known as the last frequented haunt of the fallow deer. Old dalesfolk, my informant remarked,* used to tell of the time when, from West Dun Hill and Hartchyside, the deer descended into the inclosed fields of "The Middle," which is a tract of land between the New and Old Water of Gelt, south of "The Forest." Marks of

* The late Mr. Richard Watson of Hill House, near Talkin.

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former cultivation can still be seen below the Gairs terrace lines. For though the higher portions of the fell are rugged and sterile, the lower moorland, being dry, is covered with a fine herbage and affords good pasturage, and would also repay tillage.

GREENS TERRACES.

Following the course of the Gelt we arrive at the Greens Terraces, near the "Greens Cottage" on Talkin Fell. Here are three culture-lines of a similar character on the limestone formation, about fifty yards in length and of considerable height. There are sheep-folds beneath, and some oblong inclosures that may have been "night-folds" for cattle, or the rude "shieldings" used by shepherds in the old "summer feeds." I was unable to ascertain if any "camps" existed in this neighbourhood.

Still continuing our way down the valley on the right bank of the Gelt we come to another and yet more remarkable series of ancient terraces, which are nearly opposite to the village of Castle Carrock.

TALKIN HEAD WOOD TERRACES.

This striking series covers the southern face of a high escarpment above the winding margin of the river, on a well-wooded bank. The terraces, of extraordinary length and great variety of dimensions and appearance, rise one above the other, six or eight in number; some of the ledges stretching in parallel lines, and a few "inosculating" or running not horizontally but *diagonally* into each other; thus proving that they cannot be ancient river-margins. They vary from four to about ten feet in height, and curve into the hill-slope towards its base. While examining these—the most accessible of the Geltsdale examples—I was informed of a singularly ingenious but fanciful idea respecting the origin and purpose of the terraces; still recognising, however, their evident artificial character. An intelligent

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intelligent local antiquary asserted his conviction that the whole series was designed and formed by the victorious *Romans*, who, as all are aware, used the Gelt quarries for the construction of their Mural Barrier and nearest stationary town—the site is about four miles south of Hadrian's Wall. During their long occupation of the country, when seated on these curving ledges, as in a kind of amphitheatre, all the cohorts of the neighbouring stations and the subject Britons would be interested spectators of the movements of the Roman *galleys*, and perchance of British canoes and coracles, in the naval reviews and regattas, which, as he conceived, must have often taken place on the bosom of the broad lake beneath, now merely a great depression of fertile "haugh" land by the margin of the river![*]

It is worthy of remark that the local name of "desses" is given to these terrace-lines, which rise in steps one above the other, on the sunny side of the vale of Gelt. Brockett, in his "Glossary of North Country Words," (*sub voce*, 2nd Edit.), supposes that "Dess" is a verb signifying "to lay close together, or pile up in order"; but he does not give this special substantival usage. Yet in this way it is commonly applied to that portion of the stack of hay which in the winter season is cut by the husbandman into miniature terraces or ledges, such as may be observed in every "garth" or farm-yard in the northern counties. Chaucer uses *deis* for a seat, or rather for the raised step or platform for the lord and his companions in the great hall of the mediæval castle. Spencer has *desse*, a desk or table.[†]

Another, but less usual local name for such ledges is

* See "*Natural History Transactions of Northumberland and Durham*," Vol. iii., New Series, p. 44. Also cf. *Ibid.* pp. 32-53, "*An Enquiry into the Origin of Certain Terraced Slopes in North Tynedale*," in which the writer has discussed the whole question. Their artificial character is well illustrated by a remarkable instance at Birtley on the North Tyne, where two series run at right angles to one another, each having five or six distinct gradations from six to ten feet high, and in length three hundred and one hundred yards respectively.

† The word in its various forms seems to be derived from the old French *dais, deis, dois*, a dining-table, Provencal, *deis*; from the Latin *discus*, a dish, a table; Anglo-Saxon, *disc*; a plate, a dish, a table; cf. Ital. *desco*, Germ. *tisch*.

"dales.

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"dales." A farmer observed to me that "it is astonishing how with the cultivation of even twenty years these steep 'dales' work down"; and in consequence a change of form is soon apparent. This word is from the Anglo-Saxon *dal*, connected with *daelan*, to divide, (Germ. *thal*, connected with *theilen*). The tribal ground of the ancient Britons, as in Anglo-Saxon days, may have been thus "divided" into separate portions originally, according to the different family necessities. A "survival" of this primitive custom has continued into the memory of some still living, in the similar distribution into separate shares in the "rig and rean" cultivation of the now inclosed arable ground of our village communities, as in North Tynedale and elsewhere in England, and remaining almost unchanged in Russia.*

An interesting question now presents itself:—Where did the prehistoric cultivators of these terraces live? As in Yorkshire, with numerous fine examples of parallel ledges still remaining, so here, in Geltsdale at least, there are apparently but few of the "camps" or hill-forts and valley-fastnesses so frequently met with amongst the Northumbrian dales. The former appears to imply a more settled condition of the primeval people; the latter a state of chronic warfare and struggle of tribe against tribe.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS.

These, however, have existed in the district; the sites are yet evident, and are of a note-worthy character. They, too, resemble those of the ancient Brigantian territory; being like the prehistoric settlements on the summits of Ingleborough and Rosebury Topping, rather than the more carefully constructed circular dwellings, with surrounding

* "In several English counties there may still be noticed the boundaries of the great common-fields, divided lengthwise into three strips, which again were divided crosswise into lots, held by the villagers; the three divisions were managed on the old three-field system, one lying fallow, while the other two bore two kinds of crops." Tylor's "*Anthropology*," Chap. ix., p. 219. A field still called the "city dales" is shown at Wark-on-Tyne. *Natural History Transactions Durham and Northumberland*, Vol. v., New Series, p. 241.

ramparts

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ramparts and ditches, which are so prevalent on the uplands of the Anglo-Scottish Borders.

In the neighbourhood of Castle Carrock, on an outlying spur of the great fell, a portion of the Cross Fell range, whence a magnificent view is obtained over the whole plain of Cumberland to the Solway, and Criffel beyond it, to the Lake Mountains, and the Scottish and Northumberland hills, there yet remain some of the peculiar rounded *pit-dwellings*, described by Professor Philipps* in Yorkshire, and Sir Richard Colt Hoare in Wiltshire. By these and other competent authorities such circular excavations, clustered together often without fosse or rampart-wall, are considered to have been the habitations of the ancient Britons of a type anterior to the more usual "camp" and its inclosed "hut-circles." The position above Garthhead is very strong, on the elevated plateau which is covered with fine green grass, well sheltered by higher and rocky ground on the east and north-east, except where a glimpse of the picturesque hamlet of Talkin appears through an opening in the rugged barrier-wall, which thence descends with the whole projecting spur of the mountain abruptly to the plain. The spot seems to have been partially under tillage at no distant date, and a limestone quarry breaks into the sloping ground. Above it the ancient pit-dwellings have been scooped out. In diameter they vary from nearly thirty to ten feet. The largest has a rampart of the earth thrown out, five feet high, encircling it. The entrance in this instance is plainly visible, facing the east, which is the sheltered side; as if the in-dwellers were specially desirous to avoid the south-west gales, the strongest that are felt in our island. Another is of an oval shape, twenty-one by fifteen feet. One of the group, even in its present state after so many centuries of sub-aerial action, is still at the side about twelve feet in depth. There is a peculiar flank-

* "Yorkshire," 2nd Edit., p. 203, &c. See Wright's "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," 1852, Chap. ii., p. 87, ff.

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ing rampart thrown out at the entrance at the north-west, of sufficient height to afford shelter and protection. Close to the brink of the present quarry is another pit-dwelling, with its engirdling rampart of a different type again; that is, projecting as a guard on *both* sides of the entrance. It measures fourteen by twelve feet across, and is five feet deep above the *débris*, which to a greater or less degree has accumulated in this as in every other primitive dwelling.

Some years since my friend, Mr. Ralph Watson, of Garth-foot House, Castle Carrock, examined by means of a partial exploration one or two of these circular pit-habitations. They are situated at no great distance from his residence. Only some flakes and fragments of the native limestone-rock of very singular shapes, but naturally fractured, rewarded the labour. Antiquaries of a previous generation would perhaps have been inclined to class them amongst implements for flaying animals or dressing skins, and as hammer stones; though I could observe no trace of use upon them. In one dwelling was disclosed a row of stones placed around the bottom as if to serve for seats.

EARTH-OVENS.

In the process of quarrying the limestone for agricultural purposes two unmistakeable examples of the primitive manner of cooking of the inhabitants of this early settlement came to light. One of these "earth-ovens" was a stone-lined cavity of circular form, dug out of the rock, two feet in diameter and five feet in depth; the stones set around bearing traces of burning as by long-continued fires. The bottom was the natural rock. The second pit-oven noticed, though other instances may have escaped observation, was four feet in diameter, and had a flagstone placed at the bottom.

In exploring Ancient British circular dwellings I have sometimes been surprised at the few indications of "firing" observable in them; many also, so far as could be ascertained

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tained, having no hearth-stones for culinary operations. The earth-ovens found *outside* these Castle Carrock pit-dwellings, (with a similar example which I discovered in a refuse heap of reddened stones, mingled with very numerous bones of various animals, outside the Gunnar Peak "Camp" in North Tynedale,) may serve to explain this apparent anomaly. The early vale-dwellers may have preferred to do their simple cookery in the open air, *sub Jove*, and not, as a rule, within their rude huts. This is the usual custom of many savage and half-barbarous tribes in Africa and elsewhere at the present day. In the "Nile Tributaries of Abyssinnia" Sir Samuel Baker has described like modes of cooking animal food, and the excellent results from a gastronomic point of view.*

Following the lofty brow, looking westwards, of the great fell for some distance we reach Cardunnock† or Cardunneth Pike, over 1300 feet above the sea, where, in close proximity to a mighty cairn, are some circular pit-dwellings, another early settlement. A large stone slab lies near the edge of one of these, which may have served as a hearth-stone. The encircling rampart of earth would increase the size and height of the habitation. Whether the wattled and sod-thatched roofs were thrown horizontally across these dwellings, or were constructed in conical fashion, as usual *more Britannico*, the undoubted advantage of living *beneath* the surface of the ground, like the ancient Troglodytes of the Nile, upon these wind-swept mountain heights, is very manifest.

Passing from these hill-settlements of primeval Cumberland folk, we may now descend into the plains where traces of early habitations are also to be found. To my knowledge there are no ruins remaining of any "Castle" or even

* Chap. xxi., pp. 361-2, Edit. 1872; cf. *Archæologia*, Vol. xlv., p. 367, n. "Researches in Ancient Circular Dwellings, near Birtley, North Tynedale," by the present writer.

† From *Caer*, Welsh, related to the Erse *Cathair*, and *dun*, a hill-fort; reduplicated in *knock*, Gadhelic, also a hill. Cf. *Car*lisle, *Dun*mow, *Knock*duff, &c.

Border

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Border pele-tower in the village to give significance to the name "Castle" Carrock.* The old church, rebuilt half a century ago, (the new church retains the ancient bell, bearing the inscription, "Praise thou the Lord, O Castle Carrock"†), was traditionally said to have been constructed with materials brought from two ancient earthworks—so-called "castles" or fortified sites—near at hand. One, in a marshy field about forty yards west of the church, was surrounded by a fosse, now filled up, and is about 100 yards in length by 40 to 50 in breadth. It is rounded at the south-east corner more than at the south-west. An occupation-road has probably run through the north-west end where it narrowed. The other is still called the "Hall-steads," (the field is so-named in the parish books,) and lies about a quarter of a mile to the south. It is an earthwork artificially scarped all round, the height above the meadow varying from fourteen feet on the west to four on the east; its shape being nearly that of half an ellipse cut through its longer axis, and broader at the west than the east. A small stream runs close by the western side; and the ditch and rampart are nearly conterminous with the boundary of the field, which is just over an acre in extent. The field has been ploughed within late years, and the subsoil is red clay; not gravel and sand as in the adjoining inclosures. There is an outwork across the fosse on the north-west, not unlike a tumulus, as if to defend the entrance. Another outwork appears on the north-east as a kind of rampart outside the ditch where the projecting tongue of land begins. I could hear of nothing being found on this spot, except the lower portion of a massive stake which had been "fired" at the pointed end, and may have had place in some stockade, in British, Saxon, or later times; having its parallel in those recently discovered at

* Locally pronounced "Carrick," probably from Gadhelic *carraig*, Cymric *craig*, a rock or crag; the "Castle" may be a later repetition of the "car" or hill-fort, on the rocks above, which has been already described.

† The Castle Carrock bell, bearing this quaint inscription, no longer exists, *ante* p. 422.

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Carlisle, where the early or the Roman inhabitants defended themselves behind palisaded ramparts.

Lower down the valley at the village of Hayton is an ancient earthwork called, like that at Haltwhistle, the "Castle-hill." In Northumberland such British or Roman "camps" are usually termed "Chesters" (Latin, *Castra*), as Halton and Walwick Chesters, Rochester on the Rede, and another near Birtley, (Rutchester in Camden's map). In Cumberland, although Muncaster or Mulcaster, etc., occur in the southern extremity of the county, the more general name, significant of an early settlement, is "castle." For example, Bewcastle, "Bueth's fortress;" and the *Petriana?* of the Notitia, a little north of the Gelt and Irthing, is called "Castle-steads."

This earthwork at Hayton seems to be of prehistoric origin. It has its well-chosen site, not unlike that of the Brampton Moat Hill, on the extremity of a narrow projecting eminence, separated on the south from the present village by a deep ravine, the sides of which, about fifty feet high, have been artificially scarped for the most part. The position, which is elevated considerably above the country around, commands a most extensive view of the beautiful plain to the west, south and north; which, as the primeval inhabitants, whether Goidel or Brython,* beheld it, must have appeared, just as it does now, well-wooded and "well-watered everywhere," as Eden, "even as the garden of the Lord."†

On this British fort is a plantation chiefly of scattered branchless Scotch firs with green crowns, beneath which are young larch trees; while, in the adjoining stackyard of the farm, which runs along the bank of the precipitous ravine, and is at a lower level, beech trees flourish. The centre-space of the "Castle-hill" is level across from south to north, but from this depression the ground rises three

* So the Gaidhel or Gael and the Welsh Briton called themselves. See *Celtic Britain*, by Prof. Rhys, p. 3, *et passim*.

† Genesis, c. xiii., v. 10.

or

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or four feet on the west side and about eight feet on the east. The area, nearly circular within, measures about 120 feet across, not including the double rampart and intervening fosse. The latter varies from five or six to twelve feet in depth. On the south-west there is a broad terrace fifteen feet wide and six high, overlooking the deep ravine; and on the north-west, below the outer rampart, there is a gentle slope down to the cultivated fields. By nature and art this primitive earth-work has been rendered strong for defence; and a plentiful spring of water is at hand, while a perennial stream runs beneath the great southern escarpment. The name Hayton occurs also near Maryport, and there is a Great Ayton in Cleveland.* It may be connected with the Norman-French "*Haie*,"—that is the "hedged," "fenced" or "stockaded" inclosure, which would form the chief defensive position of the district of Geltsdale near the junction of Gelt and Irthing.

CAIRNS AND TUMULI.

From noticing the limited cereal cultivation and settlements, we come to cairns and tumuli. These still represent to us the funereal monuments of the prehistoric dalesfolk of the Gelt. Solitary sepulchral monoliths and cromlechs there may be which have not come to my knowledge; as no doubt there are some ancient British and Romano-British towns, with the foundations of their circular hut-dwellings yet remaining, such as are so often met with on the banks of the North Tyne and Rede, with which I am most familiar. On the west side of Castle Carrock Fell, in Cumwhitton Parish, in the midst of a high-lying waste, dark and dreary under the cloudy sky as I beheld it, there is one of those so-called "Druidical temples" or stone-circles, though probably sepulchral. It is like that better known and larger example of "Long Meg and her

* *Natural History Transactions of Northumberland and Durham*, Vol. v., p. 249.

Daughters"

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Daughters" at Salkeld, and that well-preserved circle which lies under Saddleback on the road to Keswick. This circle at Cumwhitton is called the "Grey Yauds," the latter being the common name among North-country people for a horse—a *jade* or "yad,"* the grey colour being that of the weather-beaten stones. The "Druid" temple is said to be fifty-two yards in diameter,† and was found to consist, within the memory of my guide, of eighty to ninety stones, none of these being more than about four or five feet high. But their number is now much reduced, he told me, by the supposed necessities of agriculture; the stones having been broken up and used for the adjoining field-walls. These are now approaching calamitously near, invading the waste, just as they are encroaching on Salisbury Plain itself in dangerous proximity to the very site of Stonehenge. The surrounding moor bears the peculiar name of "King Harry," and there is a tradition that one of the Henries, Kings of England, encamped here. The unhappy Henry VI. may have been constrained to pass this way in his hasty flight from the fateful and decisive battle-field of Hexham, on May 15th, 1464, to find refuge for a time in some remote Westmoreland manor-house among the few followers still faithful to the fortunes of the Red Rose.

On Castle Carrock Fell are two great cairns, wonderful accumulations of stones that must have cost immense labour to pile up, because few stones can be obtained in these elevated sites. They resemble the mighty burial heaps of ancient chieftains in the Cheviot range, such as the Hare (or "army")‡ Cairn in Redesdale, and Cairnglassenhope in North Tynedale. These cairns on Castle Carrock

* Cf. Brockett's "Glossary," *sub voce*.

† Whellan's "*Cumberland and Westmorland*," p. 673.

‡ From *har, her*, "army" or "soldier." "As a prefix this may mean 'army,' but as an ending, where it is often *hari* or *heri* (and perhaps was originally always so), it may be taken, as suggested by Grimm, to mean warrior." See "*Surnames as a Science*," by Mr. Robert Ferguson, M.P., F.S.A., 1883, p. 55, and Note :—an excellent work just published.

Fell

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Fell are not far distant from one another. One is called Hespeck Raise, reminding us of Dunmail Raise on Ulleswater, the resting place of the last British King of Cumberland. It is an enormous mass of earth and stones, like a Titanic "Long Barrow;" so vast that, with the advantage of its lofty position, 1397 feet above the sea, it breaks the skyline of the lofty fell, to a spectator looking from the north, in such a way as to deserve its local name of the "Giant's Grave."* The other cairn is towards the western face of the mountain, commanding the whole glorious panorama of the Lake District, and is called by the British name of Car-dunneth or Cardunnock Pike, being near to the ancient British village or second group of circular pit-dwellings already noticed. As the object of choosing such elevated sites for burial places was to ensure that the departed chief or prince, should not in death be forgotten by his people, we cannot conceive any position more effective for such a purpose. Great indeed must have been the importance of the mighty dead, for whom these sepulchres on the mountain's brow were reared; and as when living they were had in honour, so they were set forth on their long journey to the unseen land of *Annwyn*—the Celtic Paradise of the West—it may be with a nation's tribute of reverence and love.

There is recorded, probably of the cairn last named, which is on the mountain verge of Cumrew parish, that a human skeleton was found in it,† but no date or description is afforded.

In a tumulus near Kirkhouse, at a place still named from it the "Howgill," some years since was found, as Major Thompson informs me, a bronze three-legged vessel, with handles at the side. Such utensils or vases were figured by Dr. Bruce in his "Roman Wall" in the first

* A well-known engraving of "Talkin Tarn," by the late Mr. W. H. Nutter of Carlisle, gives very distinctly this great cairn on the summit of Castle Carrock Fell which is in the background.

† Whellan's "*Cumberland and Westmorland*," p. 672.

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and second editions; but, as they are considered of uncertain date, they have not been definitely claimed as "Roman" in his third and last edition of that valuable work.*

There is about seven miles from Carlisle eastwards, a hamlet called "The How;" and the adjoining corn mill and railway station derive their name from the same great earthwork under whose pine-clad circular slopes the village nestles. This fine example of the "How"—a common Scandinavian term for a burial-mound,† is about one mile south from Hayton and its "Castle-hill." It is formed apparently of sand rounded by natural forces, and rises about fifty feet high from the bottom of the ravine on the south and west, but lower for the rest of its circumference. The upper portion of the conical hill is probably artificial. No excavation that I could hear of has ever been attempted; but it is one of those large examples of which the Saga legends tell us, wherein is believed still to lie hid the hoard of buried treasure over which the dragon of the "How," the dreaded "cairn-dweller," keeps sleepless watch and ward, till overcome by fearless spoilers like "Grettir the Strong."

It is said that in removing a large cairn near Gelt Bridge about the year 1775, the farmer found a kist-vaen or stone-lined grave, containing a human skeleton. Another came under my own notice not long ago in a field close to the lodge-gate of Edmond Castle. The stone slabs were made into a seat, placed at my suggestion by my venerable friend, the late T. H. Graham, Esq., F.S.A., at the front of his residence. The inclosed urn had been broken to pieces and the fragments lost in the soil.‡

* See "The Roman Wall," 2nd edition, 1853, Plate xvi. and xvii., p. 435. The vessel is now in the possession of Mrs. Thompson, Kirkhouse.

† Norse *haugr*, a mound; Old High Germ. *houe*; e.gr., Fox How, Silver How; cf. Ferguson's "The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland," pp 54-56.

‡ In the library of Edmond Castle I was shown two British Urns of the so-called "drinking cup" type, ornamented with the usual parallel lines, zigzags, and dots, and in excellent preservation. But these were not local, having been found in barrows on Mr. Graham's property near Belford, Northumberland.

Some

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Some years since, when visiting the neighbourhood, I heard of a human skull having been discovered near Castle Carrock in a similar stone-lined grave, on the west side of the high-road between Upper Gelt Bridge and the village. Fortunately, through the good offices of a friend (Mr. R. Watson), I was able to obtain it for the collection of the Rev. Dr. Greenwell of Durham, who transferred it afterwards, with many others, to the New Museum at Oxford. At my request he accompanied me to Castle Carrock, where we engaged in some explorations in and near the site of the kist-vaen. His own description may be cited :—

"In the year 1865, in the process of cultivating a field called Leafy Hill, the cover-stone of an unsuspected cist was touched by the plough. The cist had been constructed in a natural rise of the land, the cover-stone being but a few inches below the surface. It was of the ordinary form, made with four stones set on edge with a single large slab over all, and was placed in a direction north-east and south-west. It contained the body of an old man laid on the left side, with the head to north-east, having one arm extended, the other across the chest. Behind the head was a 'drinking cup' laid on its side; this was broken into several pieces in order that each of the men working in the field might have a portion. From some of the pieces I succeeded in recovering I have been enabled to make out the size, form, and ornamentation of the vessel with sufficient exactness. It is in shape like fig. 81, but widening more towards the mouth, and must have been about 7¼ inches high, and is 5¼ inches wide at the mouth; it is ornamented over the whole surface with narrow encircling bands, defined by a grooved line on each side of them, every fourth band having upon it short sloping lines, these being arranged on the bands alternately from right to left and from left to right. On the bottom of the cist was some charcoal."*

In our search after the scattered fragments of this British urn we happened to enter the cottage of a very aged dame, then in her 96th year. She said she well remembered in her girlhood at harvest time dancing with other village maidens on the Leafy Hill, and if they had

* "British Barrows," CLXIII., p. 379.

then

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then known of the grave below it they could not have ventured even near the spot. There were few stones upon or near the site; and if there had been a cairn originally it had long since been demolished—as the quarry used in making the adjoining fence-walls. This ancient dame assured me there would be a heap of stones placed over the grave at first; because "in the old times they always raised a great cairn to prevent the *wolves* from getting at the dead body." An interesting reminiscence of the origin of "taking stones to the cairns," as in the Scottish Highlands at this day, when each passer-by adds his stone; a token of respect in the present to the memory of the dead,—a necessary adjunct in the past to the stone-lined sepulchre, to prevent by the great protecting cairn any desecration of the mortal remains by fierce wild beasts. This funereal custom among our ancient British ancestors has its analogous rites in nearly all lands;—from Ireland and Great Britain in the West, to India and Palestine in the East. We read how, about B.C. 1023, when the rebellious son of King David met his strange death, after his army's defeat by Joab in the battle in the wood of Ephraim beyond the Jordan, "They took Absalom and cast him into a great pit in the wood, and laid *a very great heap of stones upon him.*"*

The late Professor Rolleston, who examined the skull from the Leafy Hill cist, found its characteristics to bear a considerable resemblance to one from Tosson near Rothbury in Northumberland. He considered it had belonged to a man "much past the middle period of life," if not to an "aged" man. The lower jaw was unusually powerful. By contour as well as by measurement he deemed the skull to be that of a man of the primeval *brachy-cephalic* or "Round-headed" race, who succeeded to the "dolicho-cephalic" or "Long-headed" people in pre-historic times long before the Roman Conquest of Britain. For, en-

* 2 Samuel, c. xviii., v. 17.

dorsing

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dorsing the words of Dr. Bernard Davis, in his "Crania Britannica," concerning the Tosson skull, this British skull found at Castle Carrock is "'of the typical series of ancient British crania,' and of the typical series, I should add, of the Round Barrow or Bronze Period;" of which Canon Greenwell has found so many interesting remains in his exhaustive researches among the tumuli on the Yorkshire Wolds.*

In the short time at our disposal for barrow digging at Castle Carrock we fruitlessly tried some sites of supposed interments pointed out to us, where the mounds proved to be natural or had been previously rifled, if they had been originally tumuli at all. The only successful search, besides that already described, was made on a spot in close proximity to the Leafy Hill and its kist-vaen. I will again quote from "British Barrows"† for its account of the interesting discovery:—

"About fifty yards to the south of the cist just described was another swell or rising point of land, upon the summit of which had been raised a small mound of stones and earth about 1½ feet high and 8 feet in diameter. Below this was an oval hollow 3 feet by 2½ feet, sunk 1 feet 4 inches below the natural surface, and having a direction north-east by south-west. It was filled in by dark coloured mould and a few stones, below which on the bottom was a deposit of burnt bones belonging to an adult of small size. Beneath the bones, and apparently having been placed there before they were laid in the hollow, was a very beautifully made flint knife [fig. 153], 3⅜ inches long and ¾ inches wide at the broadest part. The one face is flat and left in the samecondition as when newly struck off from the core; the other, which is convex, has been most delicately and skillfully chipped over the whole surface. There is no appearance upon it of its ever having been actually used, and it would seem to have been made new for the purposes of the burial. It is one of that class of flint implements which I have met with on several occasions, and which when accompanying a burnt body, have still in no case themselves passed through the fire."

* See description of figures of the Castle Carrock skull, by Professor Rolleston, "British Barrows," pp. 599-601.

† CLXIV., pp. 379, 380.

Among

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Among the many relics of the pre-Roman inhabitants of Geltsdale, that have been unearthed chiefly by accident in ploughing or draining, and since lost by unintelligent finders, no doubt bronze as well as stone implements and weapons are included. A bronze celt, I have heard, was found near the principal tributary of the Gelt, a little above the famous "Written Rock,"—the Norse name of which, *Hell*-beck, suits so well its physical characteristics. Hell-beck means the "*covered*" or *unseen* stream;* for in the deep recesses of the narrow, wooded ravine the beck passes almost without observance on its rapid course.

In my collection I have portions of two or three of the stone-querns which were found near Castle Carrock. Hand-mills were used both in prehistoric, Roman, and later times, even down to a very recent date on the Anglo-Scottish Border-land, especially in its remoter dales. Only one is an *under*-stone, of gritty red sandstone, 16 inches diameter, 3 inches high, with a centre-hole 2½ inches across. Two are *upper*-stones, which are most commonly found in ancient "camps" and settlements; as the Lords of the Manors caused the under-stones to be destroyed to enforce the grinding of corn at their mediæval water-mills—sometimes a fruitful source of litigation, as between the Abbots and townsmen of St. Albans in the fourteenth century. One of these is 12 inches in diameter by 7½ inches high; the other

* The Hebrew *Sheol*, and Greek *Hades* are the well-known equivalents of the Anglo-Saxon *hell*, which is derived from the A. S. and Old High Germ. *helan*, to "hele," to conceal. Icel. *Hel*, A. S. *Hell*, Old High Germ. *Hella*, *Helli'a*, Goth. *Halja*, is the Goddess of Death, "The mistress of the gloomy underworld." Cf. Hellwell in Devonshire, probably only the "covered" well originally. See Taylor's "Words and Places," 2nd edition, p. 327. On the banks of the Hellbeck a sanguinary conflict took place in 1570, when an army led by Lord Hunsdon, then Governor of Berwick, was victorious over the forces led by Leonard Dacres, (Ridpath's Border Hist., pp. 633-4, Edit. 1776); and the tradition is that after the battle the Hellbeck "ran red" with the blood of the slain. There is a similar tradition accounting for the origin of the name of the River *Rede*, (Celtic, *swift running*), which, I have been personally assured, derived its name from the red (locally pronounced *rede*) colour of its waters during the three days following the battle of Chevy Chase at Otterburn! It is singular that the "Red River" of Manitoba, the favourite emigration field of Canada, should have actually obtained its epithet from the same sanguinary result of a fierce battle between Indian tribes.

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11 inches in diameter at the bottom, and 6 inches in height. Half of a third upper-stone, also of gritty red sandstone, is 14 inches across at the bottom, 7 inches at the top, and 7 inches high; and it is ornamented by a set of flutings radiating from the centre at the top. It was found built up at the base of a broken "dry-stone" fence in Whittler's Field, half-a-mile south of the village, where the common "field-dale" goes by the border of it. The ornament does not necessarily denote a comparatively recent date; for Mr. Evans* describes an upper-stone now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, which is ornamented with raised lines, an elaborately formed cross with a kind of spectacular termination. It was found in trenching a moss in the parish of Balmaclellan, New Galloway, with some curious bronze objects of "Late Celtic" workmanship. These hand-mills, as Dr. Arthur Mitchell has seen for himself, are still in very common use,—are, indeed, still made and sold for about 3/6 to 5/- in Shetland and in the Hebrides. (Tennant describes them as in use there in his "Tour in Scotland" in 1772†). But they are very infrequent in England. I have one of fine compact white sandstone, that was in *daily use* up to the early part of this century by Mr. John Ellwood, a "stateman" at Breckonthwaite near Castle Carrock; and it is at this hour

* "Ancient Stone Implements," chap. x., p. 234, fig. 180. This fluted upper stone of a Geltsdale hand-mill was exhibited in the temporary museum of the Royal Archæological Institute at Carlisle, with a similar one (whole) from near Flimby.

† Tylor, in his "*Anthropology*," chap. viii., p. 202, gives a sketch, after Pennant, of two "Hebrides women grinding with the quern or hand-mill." He also illustrates the change from the hand-mill to the water-mill, to which I have adverted—though the essential principle of the revolving stone remains the same in both—by the ancient Greek epigram, which says, "Cease your work, ye maids who laboured at the mills, sleep and let the birds sing to the returning dawn, for Demeter has bidden the water nymphs do your tasks; obedient to her call, they throw themselves on the wheel and turn the axle and the heavy mill." *Ibid*, p. 204. The music of the grinding of the quern is said (Dr. Mitchell's "The Past in the Present," p. 38,) to be one of the pleasant memories of the childhood of a Shetlander or Lewisman. Cf. Jeremiah, c. xxv., v. 10, and Rev. c. xviii., c. 22.

"The *cronach* stills the dowie heart,
The *jurram* stills the bairnie;
The music for a hungry wame
Is grinding o' the *quernie*.—ROBERT JAMIESON.

capable

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capable of doing its work of grinding. (I have heard of a farmer, also within memory, using another hand-mill at Stapleton). The upper-stone is 10 inches in diameter, and 3½ inches high, with a central opening of 3 inches. The under-stone is a massive hexagon 17 inches in diameter at bottom, deeply recessed to receive the upper-stone; and it has a projecting lip, and a notch 2 inches wide in the middle of one side from top to bottom. The last owner, the grandson of the farmer who used it to supply his household needs for "daily bread," placed within the quern a cross-bar and pin of iron to aid its working, which must be considered an unnecessary and improper innovation. This is an accurate description of the construction of the hand-mill, and the mode of working:—

"Through the upper stone, and near its verge, a vertical hole is drilled to receive a peg, which forms the handle for turning it. When in use it is worked, as in ancient times among the Jews, by two women seated opposite each other, who alternately seize and propel the handle, so as to drive the stone at considerable speed. The corn, highly dried, is fed by handfuls into the hopper in the runner or upper stone, and the meal passes out by a notch in the rim of the nether stone."*

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

We have now followed the course of the Gelt, and noticed some of the few remaining vestiges of its ancient inhabitants, chiefly of pre-Roman times. We have seen their primitive hill-forts and vale-settlements; their sparse cultivation, probably of, for the most part, the small wheat and barley, and perhaps millet, (as by the Swiss lake-dwellers), on their terraced slopes, made in cleared spaces of the grand primeval forests. We have seen something

* Evan's "Ancient Stone Implements," p 232. This Castle Carrock quern is not unlike to, but smaller than the excellent example, which had been, up to 1850, in use in the cabin of a Kilkenny peasant, and was presented to the Archæological Institute, and is described and engraved in their *Journal*, Vol. vii., p. 393. Cf. Exodus, c. xi., v. 5, and St. Matthew, c. xxiv., v. 41.

—though

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—though mere glimpses after all—of the habits and custo
of these Ancient-British ancestors of ours; not merely
the common affairs of life as they dwelt among the
numerous fellow-dalesfolk, but also in face of the gre
final mystery of death and the grave. In their stone-lin
sepulchres in the plain, in their mighty cairns on the gre
mountain's summit, we recognise the same tender emotio
of reverence and love which still prompt, in these lat
days, the gravemounds and memorials in "God's Acre", t
our own beloved dead. The hieroglyphs of cup, circle, an
duct on burial slab; the provision placed in sepulchral urn
with implement and weapon in the cist; all seem to impl
the expectation of a future life,—earth-like, indeed,—beyon
this mortal life, in the nearer communion with the Grea
Spirit, or All-Father; like the *Manitou* of the Red Indian
of the North American prairie. In many respects, religious
and social, the latter are the precise counterpart in the
living present of the long-vanished race of Britain's pre-
historic past.*

THE ROMAN PERIOD.

After a while there came the great wave of Roman Con-
quest over the whole land, reaching even to secluded
Geltsdale. The Emperor Hadrian secured his new domin-
ion by the great Barrier Wall across the Lower Isthmus;
and its valleys and plains were henceforth protected by
walled towns, (some of them erected as early as Agricola's
time), and by *murus* and *vallum*, mile-castle and turret. In
building the Roman Wall the subject Britons of the dale
of Irthing and Gelt were among those constrained to wor
under foreign task-masters; thus to strengthen their ow
chains, while gaining comparative peace and security fro

* It is not necessary here to discuss the question, "Who were the earliest
dwellers of the Gelt?" Anthropologists tell us of a succession of races in
historic Britain, Kynesians, Iberians, and of the Aryan Celts, both Goidels
Brythons. See Elton's "Origins of English History," and Prof. Rhys's "C
Britain," the two latest authorities.

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the attacks of Caledonian foes. In the year before the arrival in Britain, A.D. 207, of the Emperor Severus, and probably long before that time the Romans found out the grand cliffs in the beautiful ravine of Lower Gelt. For repairs of Hadrian's work, they quarried out its red blocks to be conveyed on British shoulders to Bremetanracum, Aballaba, or whatever men called then the *castra* of Old Brampton; and also to that part of the wall lying nearest to it. So the famous "Written Rock of Gelt" assures us in an unique memorial. But ruthless hands have not held sacred this most remarkable of Roman Rock-Inscriptions. Beholding it, I fully endorse the need of Sir John Lubbock and the Lord Chancellor's bill for the better "Preservation" of such "Ancient Monuments." For the Vandals have chipped away the cliff, and carved their own names and initials, the record of their own barbarism, where 1675 years since a vexillation, or company of soldiers, of the Second Legion, under an optio called Agricola, were, in the Consulship of Flavius Aper and Albinus Maximus, [employed to hew stone.]*

The Roman Conquerors themselves, with nearly every vestige of the Wall, and of the very town which they built or repaired with stones out of the Gelt quarries on a gentle eminence south of the "Old Church" of Brampton, have now passed away. More than a century ago the antiquary Horsley could no longer find the site of the town, called by him Aballaba, because it was then covered with brushwood. There is a legend of a lost town of "Old Brampton," submerged by God's decree in punishment for

* After reading this paper I was glad to be informed by Mr. Ferguson, F.S.A., that the ledge underneath the "Written Rock" had been carefully removed to prevent further desecration. For a line engraving of the Gelt Rock-Inscription and expansion of it, see Dr. Bruce's "*Lapidarium Septentrionale*," pp. 234-5. The drilled letters, the holes connected by chiselling, resemble those of the original inscriptions in *Wadi Mukatteb*, the Written Valley of Sinai. There is also a very imperfect second rock-marking about half-a-mile higher up, on the opposite side of the Gelt, on the Pigeon Crag or Clint, the record of a certain JVSTVS, probably also of the second or August Legion.

the

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the sins of its inhabitants; one pious widow alone being saved like Lot out of Sodom.* The fisherman, as on Lough Neagh in Ireland, or off the Cornish coast of the lost "Lyonnesse," may still see, it is said, some remains of the ancient city beneath the waters of Talkin Tarn; which is a small lake, about one mile in length, with picturesque banks, the source of the Hell-beck, already named as an affluent of the Gelt. Is this tradition a vague reminiscence of the once-flourishing Roman town which for so many centuries lay desolate—lost to human ken—its buried site only recovered by the careful researches of a genial local antiquary, the late Mr. Robert Bell of the Nook, Irthington, who in 1826 found there a large jar of Roman coins, of late date, from the time of Decius to that of Florianus?

We may conclude these notices of the antiquities of Geltsdale with this, until now, unrecorded tradition of Talkin Tarn; and its probably intimate connection with the Brampton *castra*, as built of stones quarried from Gelt rocks; taken thither most probably by British dale-dwellers of the Gelt, being the nearest Roman station; the streets of which long echoed with the tread of imperial legionaries; which two Emperors at least, Hadrian and Severus, may have trod in passing from Pons Ælii (Newcastle-on-Tyne) to Luguvallium (Carlisle). In its present utter ruin and oblivion, its site furrowed by the ploughshare, the old lesson

* The legend relates that in old time a prophet was sent to destroy the town in the streets of which he had preached, but had found no one to offer him hospitality, or to regard the Divine Message of warning. A poor aged widow, living in the outskirts of "Old Brampton," alone showed him kindness, and gave him shelter for the night. In the morning came the fulfilment of the prophecy; but, at the prophet's intercession, the widow's life and property were spared; and the destroying flood, which covered every building and every living thing, reached only to a spot near her cottage, as far distant from it as she had been able to cast the shovel taken from her hearth. Mr. Hugh Miller, F.G.S., tells me that a very similar tradition exists in connection with the beautiful lake called Seamer Water not far from Bainbridge in Wensleydale,—all but the last-named incident. There are also vestiges of a Roman fortification or town in the vicinity, on an eminence called Brough-Hill, where a statue of the Emperor Commodus was found. The same legends of a submerged city occur at Gormire, near Thirsk, in Yorkshire; and, as Camden (in his "Britannia," Bishop Gibson's Edit., 1695, pp. 590, 591) records, at Brecknockmere, and many other lakes, in Wales.

comes

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comes home to us with a fresh impressiveness;—"*Sic transit gloria mundi!*"—the world's and Britain's ancient conquerors vanquished at length by all-conquering Time.

"Sceptre and crown shall tumble down,
And in the dust be equal made,
With the poor crookèd scythe and spade."

NOTE.—The map of the district of Geltsdale, and plan of its principal archæological remains, gives, besides those of prehistoric times, a few traces of the Roman occupation, especially at the north-west corner where we tread *per lineam valli*. At Moss-Hill, near Kirkhouse, I remember to have noticed some years since two Roman stones on which are figures, it is thought, of *Janus* and *Silvanus*. There is a camp at Carnetley not far distant. I have traced on the map the remains of a supposed Roman Way which the late Mr. Joseph Parker of Brampton, who took a painstaking interest in the antiquities of this district, thought he had made out satisfactorily; leading over Greenley Cross through Geltsdale Middle from the neighbourhood of Moss-Hill and Hall Bank Gate. In a letter reminding me of this, (and, *if Roman*, the road may have led from Whitley Castle on the Maiden Way to Petriana on the Wall), Mr. Porteus, of Kirkhouse, adds the information that the two Roman sculptured stones, walled into the building at Moss-Hill, are still in "very perfect" condition. He further mentions that a large barrow, probably as yet undisturbed, exists near Hall Bank Gate School, with "a triangular-shaped stone adjacent to it with the edge pointing north." This, of course, may be recent. Several tumuli seem to be known on Greenley Cross, not far from Talkin Fell, and Geltsdale Middle. This mountainous district, full of coal-mines, is yet much isolated, and might well repay additional archæological investigations.

The Brampton Park "Camp," a Roman fort or town, having an area of about an acre and a half, lies at a distance of one mile and a half south of Castlesteads. The most detailed account of it is printed in the late Mr. MacLauchlan's "Memoir written during a Survey of the Roman Wall," p. 63.

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ART. XLIV.—*Notes on the Archæology of Milburn and its Neighbourhood.* By J. G. GOODCHILD, H.M. Geological Survey.

Read at Carlisle, August 3rd, 1882.

THE village of Milburn adjoins the northern border of Westmoreland, close to the line where the steep edge of the great upland tract culminating in Cross Fell merges into the undulating lowlands of Edenside. Being remote from any of the larger towns, and even yet some few miles off the line of any of the principal highways, Milburn lies out of the track of the general tourist; and consequently the many objects of antiquarian interest that its seclusion has helped to preserve in a form comparatively unmodified, remain as yet very little known.

It has therefore occurred to me that it might be of service to call attention to some of these with the purpose of inducing competent archæologists to visit the place, and to describe these objects in a manner more complete than my own knowledge will warrant me in attempting to do myself.

The great Roman Highway between Carlisle and Stainmoor is, as is well known, joined by another Roman Road somewhere in the neighbourhood of Appleby, coming in southward from the Alston district. From its highest point on Ousby Fell, where it reaches an elevation of 2,200 feet above the level of the sea, this branch of the Roman Road can be easily traced southward almost without interruption for nearly three miles—indeed the pavement was so good, and so easily seen in some places on Ousby Fell, that it was regarded as a convenient stone quarry when the common was enclosed, and part of it was actually taken up to build the walls with. From Bank Hall the road is traceable in the direction of Appleby only by some obscure

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obscure indications until Lownthwaite Bridge is reached, where some agricultural operations on the Lownthwaite Farm disclosed part of the pavement some few years since. Then it re-appears at Underwood, and thence, so far as I have been able to learn, no certain indications of its course up to its junction with the main highway have yet been discovered. Under these circumstances it may be worth while to record any facts that may serve in any way to indicate the course taken by the remaining part of the road.

On the Ordnance maps the road is marked as extending southward from Underwood, over Newbiggin Moor, about midway between the village of Milburn and the Earthworks at Loscars; thence, past the Mill, up the rising ground to a point about half-a-mile to the east of the Earthwork near Moorland Head; whence all further indication of its course southward is wanting. But there seems just a possibility that the Roman Road may have taken a somewhat different course after leaving Underwood, for the part of the present road lying between Milburn and Milburn Church, and extending southwards from Mill Lane to Gullom Holme, is called Low Street to this day (there are no houses anywhere near); and the southward continuation of the same road, as far as the branch road to Milburn Grange, is also still known as High Street. Low Street and High Street together form part of a nearly straight road leading in the direction of Appleby as far as Long Marton, which, if prolonged a little over a mile, would strike the Stainmoor-Carlisle Road about Castrigg, a mile or thereabouts north of Appleby. Moreover, the name of the village of Milburn might also be taken into account in the same speculation, for if the word *Mil* is, as it is said to be, the Early English name for a Roman Road, it is not unlikely that Milburn may have meant the Borran, or stone-clearing, by the Roman Road. At any rate the suggestion may be worth further consideration on a future occasion.

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occasion. The form of the township of Milburn, like that of the adjoining townships of Kirkland, Ousby, Melmerby, Addingham, Kirkoswald, and others on the Cumberland side, and of Long Marton, Bongate, Warcop, Musgrave, Brough, and others on the Westmoreland side of the county boundary, is also a point worth drawing attention to. My colleague, Mr. Topley, in an article on the Parish Boundaries of the Wealden area (*Trans. Anthropol. Institute*) has shewn that all the earlier colonists of that part of England pitched their settlements near the foot of the Weald Escarpment along lines where they could command a good supply of water; and he has also shewn that they parcelled out the colony in such a way that each community might be furnished with such proportions of wood, arable, meadow, pasture, and common land as would meet the remainder of their respective requirements. Thus the entire area adjoining that Escarpment was divided into long strips extending from the fertile lowlands at its foot up to the summit ridge, and usually some distance down the slope beyond. It is interesting, if it is nothing more, to note that the early settlers of Edenside followed precisely the same course. The Parish of Kirkby Thore, where the Township of Milburn forms the principal part, extends upwards from the Eden, which forms the lower boundary of nearly all the fell-side townships and parishes, over the arable land, meadow, wood, and pasture land of the low ground, straight across the rough grazing land on the steep face of the Escarpment there, and away over the summit ridge, to include a long strip of the moorland down as far as the adjoinlng county boundary the Teesdale part of Yorkshire.

From this it would seem difficult to escape the conclusion that Milburn, as a township, must date as far back at least as the times when the greater part of Edenside was held by village communities, before the ownership of any great area of the land by individuals had gained a footing there; and

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and that the change from the past state of land tenure to the present must have been a gradual change, and one that has not been materially affected by any seizure and occupation of the land by foreign hordes, since the boundaries of each township were adjusted by the mutual agreement of the early colonists.

Who were those early colonists? Were they really the Celts of Strathclyde? Did they form part of the first great wave of Teutonic immigration composed of the peoples known collectively as the Angles, or, were they not rather some representatives of the later invaders whose Scandinavian affinities have been so completely demonstrated by Mr. Robert Ferguson and others? If a systematic study of the dialects of Edenside and the parts adjoining has any value, there ought not to be much doubt upon this point. The area including the dialects wherein the Anglian element preponderates at the present day extends southward from the Lowlands of Scotland through Northumberland, northern Durham, and north Cumberland, as far as a line,—vague and unsatisfactory where it traverses the great colliery districts of Durham—but ranging in an east and westerly direction through Weardale Head, south of Alston, up along the watershed of the South Tyne to near Croglin. There the line turns to the south on entering Edenside, and after ranging thence to a point a mile or so to the east of Kirkoswald, follows the Eden northward to somewhere near Wreay, where its precise position is lost, but whence, in a general way it may be said to extend in a westerly direction as far as the Solway. That is to say the lower part of Edenside is occupied by people whose dialect partake more or less of the character of that of the Anglian part of the kingdom; while on the other side of that line, down to north Lancashire, and thence round to the eastern counties, the affinities of the dialects are all more or less decidedly with those of the parts known to have been colonised by one kind or another of Northmen.

Milburn

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Milburn thus lies within the area characterised by the forms of speech of later introduction than the Anglian, and it was probably these later settlers who appropriated the land and parcelled out the townships into the form they retain to the present day.

Vestiges of these early English settlers at Milburn exist in one or two other directions. Milburn Church, like Long Marton Church, already described by Mr. Cory and the Rev. T. Lees, is an aggregation of structures of very different ages, ranging back from the period when the ugly square windows were knocked out of the north wall (at the time when the people got the Bible into their own hands at church and wanted more light to see to read it by), to the period when the wide-jointed masonry of the western part of the edifice and the round-headed doorway at its south-western angle were constructed. Mr. Ferguson tells me that this doorway represents the late Norman period. Masonry similar to that built at the same time as the Norman doorway can be traced along the lower courses of the stonework about half the entire length of the building on the south side; along nearly the entire front of the west end, and about two-thirds of the way along the north side, up to the line where the present chancel has been added on in later times. Mr. Lees has already mentioned the occurrence of a fragment of old stonework rudely carved into a diaper pattern, which has been employed in building up the window at the west end; but the relation of this stone to the surrounding masonry does not afford any clue to the age of the diaper work referred to. Lower down the building, however, and on the south side of the porch at the west end, stones with similar carving are built into and form part of the original Norman masonry, Traces of stones similarly carved can be seen also on the south side of the church on the west side of the Norman doorway before mentioned, and these stones occur in such a position in the Norman masonry as to suggest that they represent the carved

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carved work of an older structure again made use of at the time when the existing Norman part of the building was being constructed. This view is considerably strengthened by the occurrence, in the carved stonework of the Norman doorway itself, of two old sundials, which are built in such positions as to be now utterly useless for their original purpose; while, as if to prove that they are of older date than the building where they now occur one of them is built in upside down. In regard to the dials themselves I hope that Mr. Ferguson, to whom I am indebted for nearly all the information I possess about these and the other antiquities in and around Milburn Church, will examine them himself and describe them at length on some future occasion.

I wish particularly to direct attention to the evidence that these dials and the old diaper work seem to afford in regard to the antiquity of the village of Milburn itself; because, it seems safe to assume that if there was a pre-Norman church there must also have been a pre-Norman village. This village may well have been a place of much more importance than it is now, because, it is said that Mr. Tyson, one of the late incumbents, made a series of trials and excavations outside the limits of the present building, with the result of discovering distinct traces of a much larger edifice than the church is at present. The size and importance of the church in the adjoining village of Long Marton, which Mr. Cory has shewn to have a history similar to what I have supposed to belong to Milburn, seems to lend support to the view that some of these fell-side villages are of great antiquity, and that, in times past, they were places of much more importance than they are at the present day.

On the south side of the porch that forms the present entrance at the west end of Milburn Church there is built in a rudely carved combination of wheel crosses. Canon Knowles considers that this may be dated about the twelfth century.

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century. With regard to the age of a much-worn recumbent figure, which seems at one time to have had the hands clasped over the breast, Canon Knowles refers the date to the fifteenth century. In the village there is a kind of tradition that it is an effigy of a Knight Templar. It may be worth while to mention that the stone in which it is carved is not the St. Bees sandstone of the neighbourhood, which has furnished the material for all the stonework of the church, but carboniferous sandstone, as if the stone had been carved at a distance and afterwards transported to its present resting place. It is said to have been disinterred some years ago by Mr. Tyson.

On the inside of the church there are two recesses in the south wall; one only a few yards to the east of the point where the church used to be entered through the Norman doorway, and the other close to where a small chapel was annexed in later times in connexion with Howgill Castle. It would almost seem as if the more easterly recess indicates the position of an older chancel that existed at the east end of what is now the south aisle before the present chancel and the Howgill Chapel were added. In connection with this it may be worth while to note that there is a break in the level of the stone paving in the church, ranging along a line joining the junction of the newer masonry with the older on the north and the south sides of the church as if the present chancel and Howgill chapel had been built while the flooring of the older part of the church was concealed from view. At the farm called Kirkhouse, close to the church, is the Tithe Barn, called "tean leath" to this day.

At the entrance to the field called Kirkrains, which forms the approach to the church from Low Street, is the shaft and pedestal of what is said to be an old cross, now too much battered and weather-worn to afford any satisfactory indication of its original form. The base of a similar cross, approached by steps, stands in the middle of the village green,

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green, and now serves to support the maypole that was erected there some years ago.

The green itself is oblong in form with its greatest length lying in a north-easterly direction. Houses shut it in nearly all round, except where a narrow road affords an entrance. It is said that, in times past, the villagers used to close all the entrances to the village, and turn out all their cattle there during the winter. One of these approaches, the one leading into Milburn from Blencarn and Newbiggin, is called the Butts, probably because the bank facing towards the village, at the point where the present road bends abruptly to the south, was made use of for archery practice in byegone years.

It is remarkable, considering the physical character of the neighbourhood, and the strong antecedent probability that traces of the old non-Teutonic population of the neighbourhood might be found here, that so few remains of anything like either long or round barrows have yet been detected. A mound of stones like a tumulus occurs on the south side of the bridle road leading from Blencarn to Cross Fell, close to where there is an old lime-kiln by the side of Littledale Beck; but, with almost that sole exception, the wild fell sides of this part present a remarkable contrast, in respect of the number of pre-historic remains, to the great belt of rising ground ranging through from Kirkby Stephen by Orton and Shap to near Blenco.

It is said that vestiges of old enclosures, of unknown date, may be traced amongst the accumulations of loose rock matter on Middle Tongue, about a mile or so to the south of Cross Fell summit; but these seem to be too ill-defined to be worth more than the mere mention. One such enclosure, however, perhaps better worth further investigation, lies along the Melmerby-Ousby township boundary, about midway between the remarkable hill called Cuns Fell (probably a word of Celtic form) and the lime-stone scar, known as Melmerby High Scar. Non-Teutonic place

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place names are common thereabouts, as if the older races lingered there later than elsewhere in the neighbourhood; and it might be worth while to institute a closer search than I have been able to make, with a view to discovering some more satisfactory traces of their former existence here.

In conclusion, there is one other fact bearing upon the early history of Milburn that seems worth taking into consideration here. The Roman Road, wherever I have seen it, seems to be well made, and in many respects well adapted for use as a highway between the places it was intended to connect, even at the present day. Yet, although it is true that the modern highways do here and there run over the same lines for a few miles, the two do not, by any means, invariably coincide, even when the object of establishing communication between the same places has been in view. In a great many cases the new road seems to have been laid out without any reference to the older road already existing; and the newer road as often as not runs side by side with the older, as if the road makers were unaware of its very existence. Does this not look as if there came a time after the Roman left the country when nearly all the older population were cleared off, and the entire country lay desolate long enough for the roads to become overgrown and lost sight of? There seems to be a great blank in the history of Edenside at this time; and a blank of such a nature as could hardly have existed if the district had been continuously peopled from Celtic times down to the advent of the Teutonic races.

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EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

August 1st to August 19th, 1882.

THE first meeting of this Society for the year 1882, was one of unusual importance and duration, being held at Carlisle from August 1st to August 9th, in conjunction with the Annual Meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute at that place. A full report of the proceedings has appeared in the Archæological Journal,* occupying 46 pages, and has also been reproduced in a separate and accessible form. It does not, therefore, seem desirable in this Journal to do more than to record the utterances of some of our more distinguished guests with regard to our local objects of interest.

The first day of the meeting was devoted to a formal reception by the Mayor and Corporation of Carlisle, during which the following address from this Society was presented:—

"*To the Right Honourable Lord Talbot de Malahide, the President; and to the Members of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*

"We, the members of the Antiquarian and Archæological Society of Cumberland and Westmoreland, offer a most hearty welcome to the President and members of the Royal Archæological Institute on this their second visit to Carlisle and its neighbourhood. Upwards of twenty years have elapsed since the Institute last met in this ancient city. The influence of that visit was not without its results as regards the particular studies, pursuits, and researches to which the members of the Institute devote so much of their time and their talents. The papers read and the discussions upon them, the places visited, and the objects of antiquarian interest brought under notice, promoted and greatly encouraged in this district antiquarian researches and archæological studies; and there is good reason to believe that the former visit of the Institute to this neighbourhood was one of the chief causes of the formation of our own local Society.

"And as we are ready to acknowledge that we are thus greatly indebted to you for our first existence, so we have to thank you heartily for your kind help in lending to us various woodblocks which have been published in your Journal, when such illustrations related to places and objects existing or found within the area embraced by our local Society. It is therefore fitting and proper that we should rejoice to receive and welcome you into our own especial field of labour; and,

* Vol. xxxix., pp. 427-471; published separately, price 1s. 6d.

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while we are quite certain we shall learn much from your presence amongst us, we beg to assure you that each and all of us shall be most willing and most happy to give you the full benefit of our local knowledge of the objects of the antiquarian interest to which your attention may be directed, or by which your curiosity may be attracted.

"When bidding the Royal Archæological Institute welcome to Cumberland the members of the local Society take the opportunity of expressing their most sincere hope and earnest wish that the Institute may continue to be as successful and useful in the future as it has been in the past; that the present meeting may be alike profitable and pleasant; and that the work in which you and they are engaged may be as much promoted and as much encouraged by this meeting and its proceedings as it was by the previous visit of the Institute at Carlisle in 1859.

"JAMES SIMPSON, LL.D., F.S.A.,
"Chairman of the Council."

The Lord Bishop Carlisle then gave his Inaugural Address as President of the meeting.* The remainder of the day was occupied by an inspection of the town and castle. In the evening the Mayor gave a large conversazione in the County Hotel, during which the Historical Section was opened, and Mr. Freeman, as President, gave his Opening Address.†

On Wednesday, August 2nd, a party of upwards of 230 went by special train to Lazonby. Carriages were in readiness and the members visited the following places, Kirkoswald Church, Kirkoswald Castle,‡ Long Meg and her Daughters, Brougham Castle,§ Brougham Hall, King Arthur's Round Table,|| Mayborough,||, Yanwath Hall,** and Penrith Castle.

We cite from the Report of the Royal Archæological Institute the account of the visits to Long Meg, and to Mayborough.

LONG MEG.

A long drive brought the antiquaries to "Long Meg and her Daughters" The picturesque and wild position of this famous monument—fourth among its fellows in England, and happily protected, even at the present day, by the force of a singular superstition—was rendered still more weird and impressive on this occasion by the boisterous condition of the weather. Misty clouds were drifting to and fro, at times half obscuring his subject, as Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, his back against "Long Meg," spoke, with characteristic energy, upon

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* Printed *ante* p. 225.

† Printed *ante* p. 237.

‡ A paper on Kirkoswald Castle by M. W. Taylor, Esq., F.S.A., (Scot.), is in these *Transactions*, Vol. ii., p. 1.

§ A paper on Brougham Castle by G. T. Clark, Esq., F.S.A., *Ibid*, Vol. vi, p. 15.

|| || See *Transactions*, Vol. iv., p. 545.

** A paper on Yanwath Hall by M. W. Taylor, Esq., F.S.A., (Scot.) *Ibid*, Vol. i., p. 48.

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this monument of the mysterious past, and specially on the "cup markings" upon it. Such markings, he said, were found not only in Britain but in many other countries, and especially in Scandinavia, and he would refer his hearers to the very learned work on the subject by the late Sir J. Simpson. He added that the discoveries which had been made of late in various countries had led to a conclusion, against which, so far as he knew, there was no objection, and which appeared to be entirely trustworthy, namely, that these markings were wholly symbols, religious symbols, pointing back to the worship of a God or the Sun. It was, therefore, interesting to see that so far back as our annals could go we found the people bowing down before God Almighty. He remarked in conclusion that these markings go back to the earliest ages—they went back to what we commonly call the Stone Age, the oldest age to which we can go, and extended through the Stone Age, through the Bronze Age, and through the Iron Age. Whatever these tokens might signify they were exceedingly old, and went back to the cradle of the settlement in all the Aryan lands.

On being called upon to speak, Mr. Evans said it was certain that the presence of this stone circle, where they were assembled, was dependent to a great extent upon there being large stones in the district. In this way we had the great temple of Stonehenge built in the main of great blocks of stone found on the spot. Certainly at Stonehenge a number of stones had been brought from a distance, but the bulk had been found *in situ*. There had been many disputes about these circles, and the subject had given rise to a vast amount of discussion. They had been regarded as burial places, as temples, and as places for holding moots, but he would not detain them by giving any opinion on the subject.

Dr. Bruce said that these markings were of frequent occurrence in burial places in Northumberland, and were usually found in the presence of a native British camp. He was of opinion that the markings had the same signification as the fir-cone ornaments of the Etruscans and the Romans, and he could not help thinking that their design was the principle of vitality—that they pointed to the belief in a resurrection and a rising again. They were seen in India at the present day.

Mr. Ferguson said that within a short distance of where the party stood—some three or four fields off—a smaller circle of about 11 stones had been found, and in the centre of these there had been discovered a cist, in which was a cinerary urn, full of burnt bones. On the stones forming the cist there were markings precisely similar to those on Long Meg, but much more plain. With reference to the superstition concerning the stones he said that a legend was current that a previous farmer commenced at one time to blast the stones, and brought about that night the most terrible storm that had ever been known in Cumberland. The proprietor, Mr. Sowerby, was, therefore, very jealous of the stones, and any one chipping them or injuring them would probably get into serious trouble.

It may be mentioned that Camden, who made a survey of Cumberland in 1599, mentions two cairns within the great circle of stones; these have disappeared long since.

MAYBOROUGH.

This is a circular piece of ground about 100 yards in diameter, surrounded on all sides, except at the entrance on the east by a vallum from 15 to 20 feet high, formed of water pebbles from the Eden. In the centre is a monolith 12 feet high. There were once two others at the entrance. On reaching the monolith Canon Simpson

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Simpson said that originally there were three stones where the single one now stood, besides two others at the entrance to the circle. The person who occupied the place about 100 years ago came to the conclusion to destroy the stones, and he employed two men upon the work of destruction, both of whom it appeared came subsequently to an untimely end! With respect to the use of the place he really did not know what to say. There had been so many theories or opinions expressed by various authors that one hardly dare to venture to take up any of them. It would be very easy to say that it was a place of worship where their ancestors met to offer their services to the Gods, or to one God, as the case might be, before they went down to the "Round Table" to hold an assembly to determine their laws, but he did not quite hold that. He was not at all ashamed to think that it had been simply a burial place, though no bones had been found. As regarded the name he thought speculation would find a wide field, but he should not be surprised if it ended in the conclusion that the name meant a large building, or a large burgh or burg. They knew heaps of ruins called burgs, and the name Mayburgh, or Mayborough, might have been a corruption for a large one, a large building or temple which existed here.

Mr. Evans said he was glad to hear that the monolith or single stone was only one of a group of three which originally stood in this place. It seemed probable if that were the case this was one of these dolmens or stone structures, standing out from the ground with a large stone capping it. It was a universal rule that such erections had been of a sepulchral character. In some cases, as in Denmark, they found that an earthen mound for a burial place was constructed of a circle of stones of moderate size, which served to keep the mound in position when it was made. Here they had it as a large annular cairn constructed of peebles. The cause of that was that it was found as easy to collect the peebles as to dig the soil for the purpose. It was not improbable that there were other buildings, and it was likely that there were other cairns that had been erected subsequent to the setting up of the central mound or dolmen and the circle which accompanied it.

It may be mentioned that a portion of a broken unfinished celt had been found in the entrance to Mayborough. This solitary evidence has been thought to lead towards the inference that this circular enclosure protected a settlement of Neolithic men.

The Antiquarian Section opened at 8.30 p.m. in the Lower Assembly Room at the County Hotel. Mr. John Evans, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., occupied the chair as President, and gave his Opening Address to a large audience.

Since the last meeting of the Institute in Carlisle, in 1859, there had (he said) been a great and most important change regarding our views of archæology in general. There could be no doubt whatever that at the present time archæology was regarded more as being of the nature of a science, and that the advances which had been made in other branches of science had told, either directly or indirectly, on the advancement of archæology. The great naturalist, Mr. Darwin, whose loss they all deplored, had pointed out new methods in the realm of science, and more especially in the realm of natural science; and they, who followed another branch of science, that of archæology, would do well to imitate, not only his methods, but his caution. They would find, and had found—and no one had illustrated

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illustrated the matter better than Colonel Lane Fox, now General Pitt Rivers—that there was to be traced in all objects of human use a certain amount of evolution. They might trace back the most complicated to the most primitive and simple implements; and they must all feel that whatever they found and whatever they had was in some sense the direct descendant of something that had gone before. It was moreover in that year, 1859, that the discoveries of flint implements in the Valley of the Somme, at Abbeville and Amiens, were first brought under the notice of the British public; and it was difficult to describe the effect which those discoveries had had on the archæology of this country. In a similar manner, only a short time previously, important discoveries were made in the lake dwellings in Switzerland: and it was from the burnt remains of those pile villages and the relics preserved beneath the waters of the lakes that we could form the best idea we could possibly have of the manners and mode of life of the men of a time when, in the first place, only stone was known, and more recently, when bronze had come into use, and lastly, when iron was just being employed. Another great archæological discovery was that of the important cemetery of Hallstatt, where upwards of a thousand graves were examined between 1847 and 1864. There, also, one of the most interesting chapters in human history was fully illustrated, for we not only found graves containing swords and other arms made of bronze, but we had the transitional forms in which the use of bronze passed over into that of iron, thus affording a remarkable confirmation of the succession of the one age to the other; in fact, the earliest iron weapons were not made in the fashion in which it was most convenient to forge them in iron, but were servile imitations of the instruments cast in bronze. After speaking of the services rendered to archæology by Canon Greenwell, Dr. Bruce, and other northern antiquaries, Mr. Evans proceeded to direct attention to some of the antiquities of this part of Britain. Up to the present no implements of the Palæolithic period had been found so far north in England; and the views of Professor Boyd Dawkins, that their absence was due to the presence of glaciers, might probably be considered as well founded. We knew that in the south of England those instruments were deposited in beds which were formed after the last great submergence of this country, and the deposition of those glacial beds which were known as the boulder clay, and it was impossible to say in how short a time after that period the land became again susceptible of maintaining animal life, and the first man made his appearance in Britain, he was going to say, "on this side of the channel;" but there was good reason for believing that at that period this country was still united to the continent and that what we now know as the channel did not exist. No doubt the scarcity of flint in the north had a great deal to do with the absence of implements made of that material. Where flint was scarce, such implements would be of greater value, and consequently, when they had been well used, and were getting inefficient for their purpose, they would be re-touched and worn out to the hilt rather than be thrown away. It was, however, possible that there might be gravels along the valley of the Eden in which drift implements might eventually be found, for in countries where flint was scarce, implements of a very rude form, and made of some hard siliceous rocks, had been in use. But if any were to be found in the valley of the Eden, it would probably not be in the gravel at the bottom of the valley, but in that some 60 or even 100 feet above the existing river. He believed there was gravel in the neighbourhood of Birdoswald and Irthington where they might hope that future investigation would lead to the discovery of some implements of this kind. But flint was not entirely absent in the district; occasionally it

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it had been found in barrows. Canon Greenwell, for instance, had found some well-shaped flint knives at Castlecarrock, but they might have belonged to the Bronze Age, for it must never be forgotten that the use of stone survived in the age of that useful metal, bronze. In the museum upstairs was a remarkably fine dagger or spear head found at Winderwath. It resembled those found in the south of England and in some of the Yorkshire barrows; and whether it was brought from the south into this part, or whether it was made of native flint, was a very interesting question. When he spoke of native flint, he did not mean that they had any flint in position in this neighbourhood, but there might have been chalk flints in the drifts transported from a distance. At Gretna Green arrow-heads had been found, and others in various parts of Dumfriesshire. But the implements of most common occurrence here were those large celts or hatchets, the greater part them made of felstone, and some of them of a shape which was almost peculiar in Cumberland. It was a remarkable fact, as mentioned by Mr. Ferguson, that of the three known examples of celts which had been found attached to their original handles, two were from this district, one from Solway Moss, and the other from Ehenside Tarn, as described by Mr. R. D. Darbyshire in the *Archæologia*.* It was somewhat remarkable that stones for sharpening celts had also been found here; one, near Lazonby, had something like seventy grooves in it. The perforated hammers and heavy axes were very common here. In old times they were regarded as being thunderbolts, and it was an interesting fact that in 1766, a Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Lyttleton, communicated a paper to the Society of Antiquaries, in which, speaking of celts found at Spurnstone, and in Westmoreland, he repudiated the thunderbolt theory, and stated that he had not the least doubt they were stone implements fabricated by a barbarous people in early times before the use of iron or other metals was known. They would thus see that their episcopal chair, then as now, was occupied by one of the most enlightened antiquaries of the day. Speaking of the Bronze Age, Mr. Evans mentioned relics found at Wigton, Longtown, Irthington, Bewcastle, and Naworth. Of megalithic monuments, Long Meg and her Daughters was one of the most remarkable in this country, and there were others in the district. It was doubtful how late the use of bronze survived in the north. No doubt it lasted longer here than in the south, inasmuch as the knowledge of working iron would probably be derived from the Gauls on the continent, and would spread but slowly northwards. Of the late-Celtic period—dating say, from four centuries B.C. to shortly after Cæsar's invasion—some few relics had been found; and one remarkably fine specimen, a torque or necklace, evidently belonging to a period later than that of bronze, though not, strictly speaking, to the Roman period, was in the museum upstairs. A remarkable sword had been found at Embleton; it was in a sheath ornamented with enamel of various colours. Its date was probably not far from that of the Roman invasion of this country, and the enamelling corroborated what the Roman historians told us of the skill of the Britons in that art. No coins of the ancient Britons had been found here, though one inscribed BODVOC had been dug up near Dumfries. As they knew, Roman remains of all kinds had been found in profusion, but he need not enlarge upon them in the presence of Dr. Bruce. The mixture of races and peoples—Batavians, Gauls, Dalmatians, Moors and Spaniards, who garrisoned the Roman Wall, was well illustrated by the inscriptions still preserved. These also bore testimony to the prevalence of various

* Vol. xliv. pp. 273-292.

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religions. Only lately they had a Punic inscription found at South Shields, and another inscription had been found describing the influence of a Syrian goddess. Coming to speak of more modern times, Mr. Evans said it was interesting to know that coins of Edward the Elder and Athelstan had been found in Carlisle. It was, however, curious that there were no Saxon coins bearing the name of the town as their place of mintage; neither were there any coins of Rufus. It was stated that a coin of Henry I. and one of Stephen had been struck here, but that was doubtful. Henry, Earl of Northumberland, appeared to have had power to coin in his own right about 1150; but the principal coins of Carlisle that came down to us were those of Henry II., Richard I., and John, all of whom minted here. In the year 1208, King John summoned all his "moneyers" to London, and among them was a moneyer from Carlisle. It was in part from the evidence afforded by this mint that the history of the short-cross coinage had been determined, and it had been proved that Richard and John continued to strike coins with the name of their father, Henry. Much of the credit of this discovery was due to a northern antiquary, Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe. After Henry III., Carlisle ceased to be one of the mints of the north; but there was a mint at Durham and another at Newcastle, where a good deal of money was struck. During the siege of Carlisle, however, three-shilling pieces and one-shilling pieces were struck. The sixteenth century tokens which were issued in other parts of the country were scarce in the north, but some of Cockermouth existed.

In conclusion, Mr. Evans said a few words on monuments such as were generally in churches, and regretted that the restorers of our churches should so much neglect them. There seemed a disposition to preserve the more ancient monuments, but to leave to their fate those relating to any subsequent period. He was compelled to ask why the history of the last two or three centuries should suffer at the hands of our church restorers at the present day. He was not aware that our predecessors had done anything to offend, unless possible in being Protestant. He looked to the architects, and to those who were interested in the churches, to preserve for the future all funereal inscriptions and monuments, of whatever date, without which it would, in future ages, be impossible properly to reconstitute the history of the past.

On Thursday, August 3rd, the Council of this Society met in the Town Hall and elected the following gentlemen as Honorary Members of this Society:—The Lord Talbot de Malahide, P.R.I.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.; J. Evans, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.; Edward H. Freeman, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D.

At 11 a.m. the two Societies were received by the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle in the restored Fratry. On taking the chair, and opening the Architectural Section, in the absence of Mr. Beresford Hope, the Dean expressed a welcome to the members and their friends within the walls, and on that spot which represented through all changes, and through so many centuries, the two main ideas of Christian civilisation—the idea of Christian worship and thought and study as represented by the Church itself on the one hand, and the idea of what he would presume to call Christian communism or Christian socialism

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socialism on the other, as represented by this noble community room and the other adjacent buildings of the ecclesiastical body. The Dean concluded by asking Mr. Freeman to make some observations upon the Cathedral.

Mr. Freeman at once led the way to the cloister garth where, after remarking that this was not his section—that he belonged to the following of William the Red and not to the following of Bishop Æthelwulf, he dealt with the Castle rather than the Cathedral—spoke to the following effect:—

That suppose a wise man, learned in the history of buildings and in history generally, but knowing nothing of this particular place, were suddenly to drop from the clouds on this spot, how much would he be able to find out for himself without any man or book to guide him? Such a man, thus set down, would be able to find out a good deal about the place in a very short space of time. He might not know the name of the place, or the name of the founders and builders; but he would be able to know what country he was in, what kind of place he was in, and pretty nearly what were the dates of the different things that he saw. When he lifted his eyes to the windows in the upper part of the tower, he would say at once, "I am in England," for he would know that windows like those Perpendicular ones could not be found anywhere but in England. Then he would know at once that he was under the shadow of a great church, and it would not take him very long to find out the character of that great church. The first question he would ask was—"This is something more than a parish church; it has buildings about it. What is it? Is it a regular or is it a secular church?" He would soon see that it was a regular church. He would note the surrounding buildings, and, above all, this Fratry or refectory, parallel with the nave, and he would know that this building, parallel with the nave of a church, must be a refectory, and nothing else. Again, if he had been dropped down at Furness and Calder abbeys before he came to Carlisle, he would easily see that it was not a Cistercian church, because, apart from it being in a town, the refectory of Cistercian churches was not parallel to the nave. Then he would have to doubt a little. He might think it was a church of Benedictines; he could not tell by the light of nature that it was a church of Austin canons. A further question he would ask was, "Is this simply a conventual church, or is it something more—is it the church of a Bishop?" There seemed to have been no episcopal palace or anything else to tell the inquirer that it was the see of a Bishop. Some local antiquary should be able to tell them whether there was ever an episcopal palace in Carlisle, as there commonly was in episcopal cities, and if not, how there never came to be one. Was the lack connected with the long vacancy of the see after the first bishop, or was it, that when bishops had got feudalized and turned into barons, they did not care to have a house in that city? As to the history of the building, the inquirer would see that we had here a Norman minster of moderate size, of which there are still fragments in the two transepts and what remained of the nave. He would also see that the nave must formerly have been much longer, and he would need local information as to the circumstances in which it came to be shortened. Then he would guess that this nave had been the parish church, as was so common a custom with the Austin canons, though this feature would at once distinguish this church from any old standing cathedra church in England proper, except Lincoln.

At

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At Lincoln, the division came about through the first Bishop setting up his throne in an existing church, exactly as the Bishop of Newcastle was doing at this very moment, so that the parishioners, who kept the nave as their parish church, did not lose their right by the setting up of the Bishop's throne. The arrangement was a very common one, though it had puzzled many people, as judges and counsel had been puzzled by the precisely similar Arundel case. The inquirer would further see that here he had a comparatively small church of the twelfth century, and that a vast and magnificent choir of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had displaced the eastern limb of the Norman church, and had displaced it in a very remarkable way. He would see that the under row of windows was of the thirteenth century and the upper row of the fourteenth, and he would also see that some one in late times had gone and destroyed the history of the place by sticking in that great doorway where no great doorway ought to be. It was a remarkable example of the way in which the history and memorials of the past were being wiped out day by day to bring in the pretty things of the present. Here was the refectory, there was the walk in the cloister, and there was the dormitory. There was a little door in the transept, but no grand door, because there was no grand entrance. Why had the church not been left to tell its own story, to tell every man that the dormitory had come up against the church? Why were not the signs of the dormitory left, instead of giving us that new masonry? The new doorway might be a fine thing of its kind, but why not leave, if only for visitors like themselves, those fragments of history which they came from place to place to make out? It was disappointing when they came to a place to find that some ingenious man had done his best to wipe out its history; to find that there had been a perfectly wanton sacrifice of the building to make the thing pretty. A doorway was wanted no doubt, but why not put it somewhere else and not destroy the history?

At this point Mr. Freeman went inside, and went on with his description in the nave. No one, he said, ought to come inside a building until he had examined the outside, adding that the outside of the city of Carlisle—its walls and its site—was perhaps better worth seeing than the inside. They saw a fragment of the nave of the Austin priory, forming anciently, and until recently, the parish church. From hence they would see the character of the church; it was neither very early nor very late Norman; and if it was the work of Bishop Æthelwulf, he should be well pleased, as he was a sort of friend of his. They would see the nave had gone a long way further to the west. Now, casting their eyes to the east, they would see still remaining a Norman arch over the opening from the transept into the south aisle of the choir. They would see also, on the north side, another Norman arch, which was partly destroyed, and the rest of it was blocked up, as it did not lead from anything to anything. They saw the north wall of the choir came against it. When the choir was added, it was designed of a much greater width and height than the original building, and it was thus thrust altogether to the north, without any reference whatever to the original Norman church. Commonly the middle of the nave and the middle of the choir coincided, or nearly so; but in this case the middle line of the nave was very much to the south of the middle line of the choir. Perhaps those who built this grand choir intended some time or other to pull down the nave and rebuild it to match; or, which was most likely, they thought nothing about the nave. Going inside the choir, Mr. Freeman pointed out the evidences of the way in which the choir had been built to the north, regardless of the original Norman building. Turning to the south side, he commented

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mented on the very beautiful thirteenth century work, the pillars, arches, and aisle windows, and on the fourteenth century windows in the clerestory above. The east window was the grandest of its kind in England, and, he supposed, in the world. There was as big a window in one of the windows at Perugia, which in some points reminded him of this; but here they had the finest tracery to be seen anywhere; next to it came the abbey church of Selby, which however was smaller. In this choir might be seen one distinctive English peculiarity, the absence of a vault in so great a church. But even in England it was very rare in a church of this rank to see a wooden roof designed from the beginning. Mr. Freeman next drew attention to the series of lancet windows in the aisles, remarking that the range was rather more perfect than it ought to be. One or two Perpendicular windows had been taken out, and lancets put in. It was a very curious thing that, whenever there was a piece of history in a building marking its age, there was sure to come a wise modern architect, some man of taste, with his head full of his own ideas, who felt himself as much above history as the King of the Romans did above grammar. This modern architect came and said, "I am the only person who am upon a level with the original architect; I am the only person who knows what he would have done." So all later work must be swept away. The wise man of taste must wipe out the whole story and bring everything back to what he supposed it would have been in his pet century. This wiping out of history was called by the strangely sarcastic name of "restoration." Restoration commonly meant destroying all traces of the past, and building up according to the fancy of some architect to whose tender mercies the building may have been handed over. So it was here. These windows were not the original thirteenth century windows—they were windows of the nineteenth century, stuck in to the wiping out of history. Mr. Freeman expressed some doubt as to the propriety of fencing off the choir from the nave, remarking that he was tossed to and fro on the subject, between needs of the past and the present, since at Carlisle so little of the nave remained that it was necessary to use the choir as the church till somebody should rebuild the nave. He hoped that, if ever the nave was rebuilt to the west, they would not attempt to make the new part like the old part; they should not build it in the twelfth century style, but in that of the nineteenth, if there were one. And such a style might be called into being; but if we could take up and develope the style which prevailed at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, when the native English style began to decline, that would be better still.

Mr. Ferguson, F.S.A., gave a description of the old glass in the upper part of the east window,* and then read the following notes which Mr. Bloxam had contributed on the monumental effigies in the Cathedral.

"1. In the south aisle is the recumbent effigy of a bishop. His face is close shaven; on his head is worn the *mitra pretiosa* with pendent infulæ behind. The amice is worn about the neck. On the body appears, first, the skirts of the alb, then the extremities of the stole, then the tunic, over that the dalmatic, over all the chesible, with the rationale in front of the breast. The maniple hangs down from left arm; the right hand in gone, but was upheld in the act of benediction. The

* A paper on this glass, by Mr. Ferguson, is in the *Transactions* of this Society, Vol. ii., p. 296.

pastoral

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pastoral staff, enveloped in a veil, appears on the left side, but the crook is gone; the left hand is also gone. The shoes or sandals are pointed, and the feet rest against a sculptured bracket. The head reposes on a square cushion. Above is a canopy, partly destroyed. This effigy appears to be of the middle of the fifteenth century, circa 1469. It is generally assigned to Welton, who died 1362.*

"2. There is, on the floor, the inlaid brass effigy of a bishop, wearing the *mitra pretiosa*, and vested in the amice, alb, stole, tunic, dalmatic and chesible, and maniple. In the left hand the pastoral staff is held; in the right hand is a book. This is engraved in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, Vol. ii., pl. cxvi.; and in Hutchinson's *Cumberland*, Vol. ii., p. 602. It is the effigy of Bishop Richard Bell, who died in 1496; his name is on it.

"Under an arch in the north aisle is a recumbent effigy of a bishop of the thirteenth century. He is represented bearded, with the *mitra pretiosa* on his head, the amice about his neck, and in the alb, tunic and dalmatic, over which is worn the chesible, which is long, with the rationale in front of the breast. The right hand, now gone, was in the act of benediction. The pastoral staff is on the left of the body. Above the head is an Early English canopy, now much mutilated. This is said to be Bishop de Everdon, who died 1254 or 1255.

"There is also a small quadrangular brass, of very late date, to Bishop Henry Robinson, who died in 1616. A duplicate is in Queen College, Oxford. It is engraved in Jefferson's *Carlisle*, p. 180."

The Rev. J. T. Fowler proceeded to describe the carvings on the capitals of the pillars of the choir representing the occupations in the twelve months of the year.†

The party moved on to the west door near which is the stone inscribed with runes. Professor Stephens, who was called upon by the Dean, said he had described the inscription very fully in the second volume of his work. It was very short and simple, the translation being, "Dolfin wrote these runes," or "Dolfin carved these letters on this stone." It was a simple scribble of the builder, or the architect, or some of the workmen. The name Dolfin was a very common one, but it might be that of the governor of Carlisle whom Rufus drove out. These scribbles—some of a more formal and official character—were frequently found, and they might be called "church scribbles." In a similar way we found inscriptions which had been written on the wet clay of bricks with the finger or a stick, the brick being afterwards hardened by burning.

Returning to the Fratry, Mr. C. J. Ferguson showed by plans what was known of the original arrangements of the Cathedral and the adjacent buildings, and afterwards described the painted ceiling in the Deanery.

Mr. Micklethwaite followed with some remarks. He said no doubt the parish church was very much older than the Cathedral, and he

* There is no doubt it is Bishop Barrow, who died 1429.

† A paper on these carvings by James Fowler, F.S.A., is in these *Transactions*, Vol. ii., p. 280.

confessed

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confessed he was sorry that, after all these centuries, the parish church had been turned out. He then sketched in an interesting manner the history of the buildings. Mr. Freeman had rightly said that the interest of these structures centred in the indications they afforded of the changes which had taken place according to the wants and circumstances of successive ages. That being so, he did not see why the nineteenth century deans and canons should not alter to suit their wants. Some alterations were mere fancies, and he deprecated the removal of the Perpendicular windows as much as Mr. Freeman could do; but other alterations were legitimate, among which he considered the insertion of the south door in the transept, which was really needed. Mr. Micklethwaite then pointed out the position of the conventual buildings, and the meeting gradually broke up.

In the afternoon Dalston Hall* and Rose Castle† were visited under the guidance of Mr. C. J. Ferguson. A question having arisen as to the origin of the name "Rose" or "La Rose," Mr. R. S. Ferguson expressed his belief that the name was derived from the emblem of the Virgin Mary, to whom Carlisle cathedral was dedicated.‡ Referring to a point raised by Mr. Freeman, he stated that, after the division, in the reign of Henry III., of the ecclesiastical property between the Bishopric and the Priory, the Bishop of Carlisle never had a residence in the city: Linstock, which fell to the Bishop on the division, was found to be dangerously near the marauding Scots, so that the prelates thought it desirable to have Carlisle between them and their northern neighbours, and settled at "La Rose."

On Friday, August the 4th, the Roman Camp at Birdoswald (Amboglanna) was visited under the guidance of Dr. Bruce. The party afterwards drove along the Roman Wall to Lanercost§ and Naworth Castle,‖ at which place Mr. C. J. Ferguson acted as *cicerone*.

Saturday, August 5th, and Monday and Tuesday, August the 7th and 8th, were occupied by foreign excursions to Hexham, to the Roman Wall in Northumberland, and to Abbotsford, and Melrose and Dryburgh Abbeys.

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* A paper on Dalston Hall by Mr. C. J. Ferguson, F.S.A., is in these *Transactions*, Vol. ii., p. 165.

† A paper on Rose Castle by Mr. C. J. Ferguson, F.S.A., is in these *Transactions*, Vol. ii., p. 156.

‡ On this point, see *ante* p. 14. Also a paper by Mr. R. S. Ferguson in *The Gatesgill Chronicle and Raughtonhead Gazette*, Vol. ii., p. 1.

§ For an account of Lanercost by Messrs. R. S. and C. J. Ferguson see these *Transactions*, Vol. i., p. 95.

‖ For an account of Naworth Castle by Mr. C. J. Ferguson see these *Transactions*, Vol. iv., p. 486. For a History of the Barony of Gilsland, *Ibid* p. 446; for the Heraldry of Naworth and Lanercost, *Ibid* p. 496; and for Notes on Naworth, *Ibid* p. 510.

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We cite from the Report of the Royal Archæological Institue the account of the Museum :—

This was formed in the Upper Assembly Room of the County Hotel, under the direction of Mr. R. S. Ferguson and the Rev. T. Lees. It would be a difficult matter to give, in a short space, a notice of the large number of antiquities and objects of art that were here accumulated, but the more important objects may be mentioned. Of stone implements the collection, as might be expected, was not large, but Mr. Atkinson sent a remarkably fine dagger, and a stone celt from Winderwath. Several examples of perforated hammers and axes, which are not uncommon in this district, were also exhibited. Sir F. Graham exhibited several celts in stone and bronze, and Mr. Fisher contributed a bronze torque found in Carlisle. Of Roman antiquities there was, of course, a fine collection. Chief among these must be placed a superb gilt bronze figure of the Emperor Commodus as Hercules, lent by Mr. Howard of Naworth, and believed to have been found near the Roman Wall. Sir F. Graham sent a number of objects in bronze, and Mr. Blair contributed bronze rings with gems, fibulæ, and the fine onyx cameo, representing a bear, found at South Shields Mr. Court sent a beautiful bronze acanthus leaf terminating with a winged griffin, and many other Roman antiquities came from the collections of Mr. Carrick, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Cumpston, Mr. Bendle, and from the Carlisle Museum. Mr. A. Evans exhibited a remarkable collection of gems from Dalmatia and the east coast of the Adriatic. An object of the highest rarity—the central figure in wood from the "Rood, Mary and John,"—came from the chapel at Cartmel Fell. The Corporations of Appleby and Kendal exhibited their municipal insignia; the Corporation of Carlisle sent the great silver gilt mace, three silver maces, "the sword of us, our heirs, and successors," in its scabbard decorated with the single and mysterious letter S, the iron skeletons of three ancient maces, the "loving cup," and the unique globular silver racing bells. The craft guilds of Carlisle exhibited their regalia, conspicuous among which was the silver salver representing Neptune drawn by tritons, a precious object certainly, though hardly from the hand of Cellini. But the great feature of the Musuem was the collection of church plate. With the approbation of the Bishop of Carlisle, the churches of the diocese had been ransacked with the result of bringing together the finest collection ever made of post-Reformation church plate. Among these objects were included many vessels in pewter, which the most zealous Puritan could hardly call "decent communion cups," and an exquisite "monument of superstition," the "massing chalice" from Old Hutton Church. Of secular plate there was an excellent and large display, and, to mention only one class, the contributions of the Rev. J Arlosh, Mrs. Duffield, Mr. Blundell, Mrs. Hartshorne, Mr. MacInnes, Mr. Ainsworth, and others, formed a complete representative history of the various and varying fashions of English silver spoons. The collection of pictures was of considerable interest. Mr. Howard of Greystoke sent a portrait of Erasmus by Holbein; an exquisite head of an ecclesiastic (Thomas of Canterbury, so called), by Van Eyck, cut from a larger picture when, by order of Henry VIII., all memorials of Becket were destroyed, and an interesting portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, in her youthful days, by Jean de Cour. Lord Muncaster exhibited the portrait of Skelton the "fool of Muncaster." in his checkered suit of "motley," and a curious picture representing the presentation by Henry VI. of the "Luck of Muncaster." The Rev. J. Arlosh lent a collection of snuff boxes; the Rev. T. Lees exhibited a great

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great variety of knitting sheaths, interesting from the survival of archaic types in their ornamentations; and Mr. Ready showed a number of rings of various periods. Conspicuous among the examples of embroidery and needlework was a splendid funeral pall (?) of dark blue velvet, embroidered in silver, exhibited by Mr. Howard of Greystoke; quilts and hangings, belonging to the Rev. R. C. Pattenson; and several examples of seventeenth century samplers, lent by Mrs. Duffield. Of MSS. and books there was a large collection. The Rev. Father Giles exhibited a noble fourteenth century missal of Salisbury use, formerly belonging to Caldbeck church, Cumberland, with the service for St. Kentigern inserted in later times. Sir F. Graham sent "Le Geste de Sir Johan Mandeville," and the valuable Commonplace Book of Milton. Mr. Howard of Naworth exhibited a fine genealogy of the Howard family. Mr. Dore lent his interesting collection of bibles; and the Rev. J. T. Fowler exhibited a Coverdale bible of 1535. Of arms and weopons there was a good collection. Sir R. Brisco sent a gigantic mantrap; and Mr. Carrick contributed three prodigious iron padlocks, with which the English, Scotch, and Irish gates of Carlisle were made fast, and "Scotchmen and foreigners" kept out of the Border city in the brave days of old.

We are not altogether without hope that this instructive exhibition of Border antiquities, of which the above notes are but a short summary, may be eventually completely chronicled by the accomplished local antiquary under whose auspices it was brought together.

PAPERS READ AT THE MEETING.

	Transactions of this Society. Vol. vi.	Archæological Journal.
INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY THE LORD BISHOP OF CARLISLE.	225	215 Vol. xxxix.
ANTIQUARIAN SECTION.		
"Opening Address," by Mr. J. Evans.	493	440 Vol. xxxix.
"The Antiquities of Algeria," by the Lord Talbot de Malahide.		227 Vol. xxxix
"Recent Explorations in Romano-British Towns in North Tynedale," by the Rev. G. Rome Hall.		
"Church Ales," by E. Peacock.		
"Gosforth Cross," by the Rev. W. S. Calverley and Dr. Parker.	373	Vol. xl.
"Cresset stones," by the Rev. T. Lees.		390 Vol. xxxix.
"Lamp Niches," by Sir H. Dryden, Bart.		396 Vol. xxxix.
		"Legends

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"Legends and Inscriptions over Doorways of Old Houses in Cumberland," by Dr. Taylor.	280	
"The Crypts at Ripon and Hexham," by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite.		347 Vol. xxixx.
"The Discoveries at Bath," by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth.		
"The Charters, Guilds, and Bye-Laws of Carlisle," by the Mayor of Carlisle.		
"Carlisle Cullery Tenure," by Mr. W. Nanson.	305	Vol. xl.
"The Archæology of Milburn, Westmoreland, and its Neighbourhood," by Mr. J. G. Goodchild.	481	402 Vol. xxxix.
"Ancient Remains in Geltsdale, Cumberland," by the Rev. G. Rome Hall.	456	
"Roman Inscriptions Found in the North of England," by Mr. W. Thompson Watkin,		
HISTORICAL SECTION.		
"Opening Adress,' by Mr. E. A. Freeman.	237	317 Vol. xxxix.
"Cumberland Church Dedications," by the Rev. Precentor Venables.		
"The Earls and Dukes of Cumberland, and the Earls of Carlisle," by Mr. S. I. Tucker (Somerset).		
"The Countess of Pembroke," by Mr. W. Jackson.		
ARCHITECTURAL SECTION.		
Observations by Mr. Freeman and Mr. Micklethwaite upon the general and subsidiary history of the Catheral.	497	446 Vol. xxxix.
"Crossraguel Abbey," by the Rev. G. Hunter.		
"Walls Castle," by Mr. W. Jackson.		

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The following new members were elected members of this Society August 1882, during the joint meeting with the Institute :—Mr. Charles William Smith, Fisherbeck House, Ambleside; Rev. J. and Mrs. McArthur, Lamplugh Rectory, Cockermouth; Mr. J. Lazonby, Wigton; Rev. W. T. Newbold, Saint Bees; Rev. G. W. Waterton, St. Mary's Catholic Vicarage, Carlisle; Mr. John Jowitt Wilson, 7, New Bridge Street, Birmingham; Mr. James Webster Longmire, Cold Harbour, Kendal; Mr. John Harrison, Church Street, Barrow; Miss Alice Rea, Eskdale, Holmrook, Carnforth; Mr. Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A., Oxford Mansion, Oxford Street, London.

THURSDAY AND FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5TH AND 6TH.

The fourteenth Annual Meeting of this Society was held on these two days at Keswick. The programme of the first day included a visit to the Stone Circle and St. Kentigern's Parish Church, Crosthwaite; and that of the second day comprised an excursion round Bassenthwaite Lake, visiting *en route* Peel Wyke and the entrenchments on Castle Howe, thence to Caermote and forward to Overwater, returning on the north-east side of Bassenthwaite Lake to Keswick. The party assembled at the Keswick Hotel about noon on Thursday, and proceeded in coach and on foot to the stone circle, distant about one and a half miles. Prior to the visit of the Society some excavations had been made under the superintendence of Mr. W. Kinsey Dover, with the view of finding whether the subsoil would disclose anything that might lead to some conclusion as to the age or object of the circle. The following is Mr. Dover's report:—

"Length of inclosure within the Keswick stone circle, 22 feet, east and west; breadth, 11 feet, north and south. Length opened out, 18 feet to 19 feet; breadth, 3 feet 3 inches, with two cross cuts of about 2 feet. Depth of dark superficial soil to where the yellow undisturbed soil appears, 14 inches, with the exception of a small portion at the west end where the black soil mixed with stones continued to a depth of 3 feet. Near the bottom here, I found what I think to be a few small pieces of burned wood or charcoal, also some dark unctuous sort of earth, a sample of both I brought away."

The party proceeded next to St. Kentigern's Parish Church, Crosthwaite. Passing into the church they examined the objects of interest to been seen in the interior, including Southey's monument. The Rev. T. Lees pointed out the dedication crosses in the windows, and gave a short description of the font, which was supplemented by a few remarks by the vicar of Crosthwaite, the Rev. T. K. Richmond.*

* For an account of this font, by A. W. Franks, F.S.A., see *ante* p. 413.

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The party having assembled in the vestry the Rev. T. Lees referred to the number of dedication crosses at Crosthwaite Church, and described the consecration ceremony of St. Dunstan. He also read a paper on St. Herbert of Derwentwater.

The party, after hearing Mr. Lees' paper, looked at various parts of the exterior of the church, and then proceeded to the Keswick Hotel, where they dined.

After dinner the members held their annual business meeting in the hotel. The chair was taken by the Editor, and there was a fair attendance. The Chairman read the following letters which had been sent to Canon Simpson, president of the Society, from Lord Talbot de Malahide, Mr. Evans, and Mr. Freeman :—

Rose Castle, Carlisle, 7th August, 1882.

Dear Sir,—I have just received your kind letter announcing my election as honorary member of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society.

I am convinced that local antiquarian societies are most useful and efficient local antiquities, and collecting valuable information to illustrate them, and I believe there is not a more efficient one than the one over which you preside.

Pray convey to the members my thanks for the high honor they have conferred upon me, and believe me,

Yours truly,

TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.

Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead, August 9, 1882.

Dear Sir,—I am much obliged for your letter of the 5th instant informing me that the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society have paid me the high compliment of electing me an honorary member of their body. Will you kindly convey to the Council and to the Society my best thanks for the honour they have done me, and assure them of the satisfaction I feel in being associated with an institution which has done such excellent archæological work. With thanks also to yourself,

I remain, Yours very truly,

The Rev. Canon Simpson, D.D. JOHN EVANS.

Hexham, August 7th, 1882.

Dear Sir.—I accept with great pleasure the honour which the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society has conferred upon me, as announced in your letter of August 5th, which I received this morning before I left Stone House.

Believe me, yours faithfully,

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

The Secretary read the statement of accounts for the past year. He said it showed a great increase in the amount of subscriptions. The balance from last year was £135, the subscriptions amounted to £179, and the total income £332. After paying expenses there was a balance of over £200 to the credit of the Society.—The Chairman congratulated the Society upon the favourable position in which it stood. It was chiefly due to increased membership, and the exertions of the Secretary in collecting subscriptions.—The accounts were adopted.

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The Chairman said that some time ago Mr. Jackson, Canon Simpson, and himself were appointed a Committee to revise the rules. They had succeeded in producing some new rules based on the principle of altering as little as they could. They had been adopted by the Council in the afternoon, and they were now before the meeting for their acceptance.—The rules were read over and adopted, and are given here.

RULES.

I.

The Society shall be called the "Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society."

II.

The Society is formed for the purpose of investigating, describing, and preserving the Antiquities of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire North of the Sands.

III.

The Society consists of the original members, and all those who may have been or shall be elected either at a General or Council Meeting upon the nomination of two members.

IV.

The Annual Subscription is 10/6, due and payable on the 1st of July in each year; and no member shall be entitled to the privileges of the Society whilst his or her subscription is in arrear. A composition of Five Guineas constitutes Life Membership.

N.B.—Ladies elected prior to August 30, 1881, pay only 5/- per annum.

V.

The Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Lord Lieutenant of the county of Cumberland, and the Lord Lieutenant of the county of Westmorland, if members of the Society, shall be Patrons thereof.

VI.

The other officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, an Editor, two Auditors, and a Secretary and Collector, who shall be elected at a General Meeting of the members of the Society to be held each year.

VII.

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VII.

The management of the Society shall be in a Council consisting of the Patrons, President, Vice Presidents, Editor, and Treasurer, and twelve other members, who shall be annually elected at the same time as the other officers. The Council may, if it think fit, elect one of its members as "President of the Council."

VIII.

On the recommendation of the Council, the Annual Meeting may elect as honorary members gentlemen non-resident, eminent for Antiquarian knowledge, or gentlemen resident who shall have rendered valuable services to the Society, such gentlemen to have all the privileges of membership without the payment of subscriptions.

IX.

The Society shall hold two or more meetings in each year at some place of interest, at which papers shall be read, to be printed, if approved by the Editor and Publication Committee, in the Society's Transactions.

X.

The Council have power to appoint local secretaries, and to authorise the formation of Committees for local purposes in connection with the central body.

XI.

The Council shall meet about the month of April to settle the place or places at which the general and other meetings shall be held in the season next ensuing.

XII.

The Council shall appoint two members of their body, who shall, with the Editor, form the Publication Committee.

XIII.

Members may introduce a friend to the ordinary meetings of the Society.

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The election of President, Vice Presidents, Editor, Auditors, Secretary, Treasurer, and twelve members of Council was then proceeded with, and the list of officers for the year 1882-3, stands as follows :—

PATRONS.

The Right Hon. the Lord Muncaster, Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland.
The Right Hon. Lord Hothfield, Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Carlisle.

PRESIDENT.

The Rev. Canon Simpson, LL.D., F.S.A., Kirkby Stephen.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

F. A. Argles, Esq.
James Atkinson, Esq.
E. B. W. Balme, Esq.
The Earl of Bective, M.P.
W. Browne, Esq.
James Cropper, Esq., M.P.
H. F. Curwen, Esq.
Robert Ferguson, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
H. Fletcher-Rigge, Esq.
Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.
George Howard, Esq., M.P.
W. Jackson, Esq., F.S.A.
G. J. Johnson, Esq.
Hon. W. Lowther, M.P.
H. P. Senhouse, Esq.
Hon. Percy S. Wyndham, M.P.

ELECTED MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

G. F. Braithwaite, Esq., Kendal.
Rev. W. S. Calverley, Dearham.
Isaac Cartmell, Esq., Carlisle.
J. A. Cory, Esq., Carlisle.
J. F. Crosthwaite, Esq., F.S.A., Keswick.
C. J. Ferguson, Esq., F.S.A., Carlisle.
Rev. T. Lees, M.A., Wreay.
T. F. I'Anson, Esq., M.D., Whitehaven.
W. Nanson, Esq., B.A. Carlisle.
M. W. Taylor, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., (Scot.) Penrith.
C. Wilkinson, Esq., Kendal.
Rev. Canon Weston, Crosby Ravensworth.

EDITOR : R. S. Ferguson, Esq., M.A., LL.M., F.S.A., Carlisle.

AUDITORS : David Page, Esq., M.D., and Frank Wilson, Esq., Kendal.

TREASURER : W. H. Wakefield, Esq., Sedgwick.

SECRETARY : Mr. T. Wilson.

The following new members were elected :—Miss Senhouse, Gatehouse, Gosforth ; Mr. E. Paley, Lancaster ; Mr. J. Danson, Grasmere ; Mr. Joseph Huddleston Wood, Maryport ; Mr. W. Constable, Holm Head, Carlisle ; Dr. Charles Gore Ring, Keswick ; Mr. Oswald George Rumney, Wren Villa, Keswick ; Dr. Montgomery, Penrith ; Rev. T. K. Richmond, Keswick ; Rev. H. Lonsdale, Thornthwaite, Keswick : Rev. J. Ewbank, Cockermouth : Lord Hothfield.

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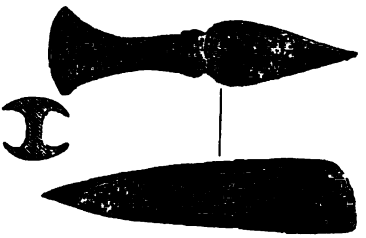
The Rev. J. Brunskill exhibited a small bronze palstave of the adze form, or having the blade at right angles to the septum between the flanges; this form is very seldom seen in Britain, but a small one found at Irthington in Cumberland is engraved by Mr. Evans [*Ancient Bronze Implements*, p. 85, fig. 7a]. The one exhibited by Mr. Brunskill was found on Askham Fell, midway between Askham and Moor Divock. An engraving is given.



The following papers were communicated to the Society during the evening:—

St. Kentigern Dedications, by the Rev. T. Lees.
Vignette to a Charter to Carlisle, by R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A.
Dials at Isel Church, by the Rev. W. S. Calverley.
Church Bells in Brampton Deanery, by the Rev. H. Whitehead.
The Colony of German Miners at Keswick, by J. F. Crosthwaite. F.S.A.
Explorations at Calder Abbey, by the Rev. A. G. Loftie.

On Friday the party visited Castle How, near Peel Wyke; Roman camps at Caermote; a curious earthwork at Snittlegarth; a camp at the south end of Overwater; and Orthwaite Hall, which was once owned by William George Browne, a traveller of some note. At Castle How the party left the conveyances and climbed the hillside. Mr. Jenkinson and Mr. Kinsey Dover pointed out what were described as entrenchments on the side of the hill. Mr. Dover observed that there were four trenches on the side looking towards Peel Wyke, three of which could easily be seen, and on the other side there were two. On the remaining sides the defence of the place had been provided for by nature. He considered that the place was pre-Roman, but very likely the Romans might occupy it also. Mr. Ferguson said if the Romans occupied it at all it would only be as a look-out post. There were several such places in the county, near Naworth Castle, Hayton, Haltwhistle, and Chesters in Northumberland, and elsewhere. The party, having returned to their conveyances, resumed the journey to

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to Caermote. When the party reached Caermote, which is about five miles from Peel Wyke, the Roman camps were inspected. Mr. R. S. Ferguson, in describing the lower of the two stations here, said the curiosity was that the Romans found the place too large for them, and they made a smaller camp in the corner. Mr. Ferguson then gave some extracts from an early volume of the *Transactions*, bearing on the subject.* The higher camp was then visited, and after a further drive, some remains at Snittlegarth were looked at. They consisted of an oblong piece of earthwork witn a trench round it, the ground outside being about the same level as the oblong ground itself.† Mr. Ferguson said this was one of the most curious earthworks he knew. One of the curious things about it was that there was no trace of an entrance, so that the only way of getting to it must probably have been by a drawbridge. There were traces of earthworks outside. Mr. G. T. Clarke, F.S.A., with whom he communicated on the subject, said that he was of opinion that it was undoubtedly Roman, and that it was a small camp thrown up for some purpose to be defended by a small body of men. Mr. Clark told him he knew of nothing like it in England or Wales. If it was a Roman camp, added Mr. Ferguson, it might probably be a sanitorium. Mr. Lees advanced the theory that it had been an ornamental piece of water, and an island in a mediæval *pleasaunce*. The excursionists then drove through Ireby to Overwater, where are situated what some consider to be the remains of a Roman camp. Mr. R. S. Ferguson, however, did not think the place had been a Roman station at all. It was not square; there was only one entrance; and it was probably an Englishman's homestead, the house itself standing on the mound at the corner. Mr. Jenkinson thought it one of the most perfect Roman camps he ever saw. Mr. Ferguson said no Roman ever put a camp in such a place—it was in a hole commanded by higher ground on all sides; and no Roman ever formed such a trench as that which they saw round this camp, the earth being thrown out on both sides. The party next proceeded to Orthwaite Hall, and on arriving there, Mr. Browne of Tallentire read a paper on "William George Browne (the traveller), of Orthwaite, or Allerthwaite Hall."‡ The journey homewards was then resumed, a substantial luncheon being provided at the Castle Inn, Bassenthwaite.

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* *Ante* Vol. iii., p. 43; Vol. vi., p. 191, where plans are given.
† *Ante* p. 193.
‡ *Ante* p. 355.

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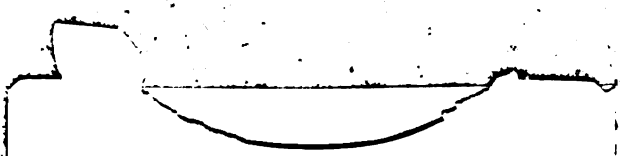

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